

THE  
WORKS

OF

*Francis Osborn, Esq;*

Divine, & Historical,  
Moral, & Political.

In Four several

TRACTS.

*Viz.*

- I. *Advice to a Son, in Two Parts.*
- II. *Political Reflections on the Government of the Turks, &c.*
- III. *Memoirs on Q. Elizabeth and K. James.*
- IV. *A Miscellany of Essays, Paradoxes, Problematical Discourses, Letters, Characters, &c.*

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The Tenth Edition.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for A. and J. Churchill, at the Black  
Swan in Pater-Noster-Row. 1700.

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D I R E C T I O N S

F O R

Your better Conduct through the various and most important Encounters of this Life.

Under these General Heads.

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|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 1. Studies, &c.       | }} 4. Government. |              |
| 2. Love and Marriage. |                   | 5. Religion. |
| 3. Travel.            |                   | Conclusion.  |

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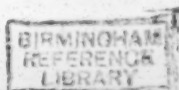
By FRANCIS OSBORN, Esq;

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The First Part.

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London, Printed for A. and J. Churchill. 1700.



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TO THE  
READER.

**S**UCH as make it their business, with the Spider, to suck out the Crudities and Corruptions in Books, are unlikely to fail of Matter here; yet may come far short of the Credit and Good might accrue to themselves and others, did they pore less on what is really amiss, and more on that not yet brought under a perfect Knowledge (unpossible to be taken up pure by those that begin but now to scramble for it:) New Opinions, tho perhaps untrue, rather gaining than losing repute by opposition. This breeds matter of wonder, why so many should hazard their Fame, by running and yelping after those prodigious Wits of this Last Age, BDH, &c. Men not unable with Abner, to silence these swifter Writers with the But-end of their Quills; and so richly endowed from Nature, as they are able to Traffick upon their single Stock, without obliging the credit of ancient Authors; who, for ought I know, were of poorer Parts, and might learn of them, were they in being. This is said to honour those that can take their Pastime in the Depths of Reason; and not to shroud my poor Interest under theirs, whose Books

*deserve better Coverings than can be picked out of the choicest of my Papers; or theirs that have the impudence to traduce them. It cannot be denied, but that, in imitation of Sea-men, I may perhaps by design have cast out some empty stuff, to find play for the Whale-mouth'd gapers after Levity; lest they should spoil the Voyage, which for the good of Posterity, I have so long made, beyond those Pillars, the Liberty of these times hath afforded Wisdom a larger Passport to Travel, than was ever able formerly to be obtained, when the World kept her fettered in an implicate Obedience, by the threefold Cord of Custom, Education and Ignorance.*

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The Reason why the Authors Name is affixed to this Edition, is given by himself, in another Piece in this Book.

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TO



## TO HIS SON.

S O N,

I Have forbore to set *your Name* on the Forehead of these Aphorisms, not that I am ashamed either of *Them* or *You*; but for such like Reasons.

*First*, Because some *Truths*, I here endeavour to make legible, the Tyranny of *Custom* and *Policy* labours to conceal, as destructive to the Project of *Government*; and therefore unlikely to pass by wise Men, without a *formal Reproof*; who have been long since taught by unerring Experience, that *Ignorance* draws with the least Reluctancy in the Yoke of Obedience; being of so sheepish a Nature, as she is no Bodies Foe but her own.

*Next*, To spare you the trouble of arming your Reason, in way of Defence, upon every Alarm they may receive from the *Censures* of Wiser or Weaker Judgments: For not carrying the Marks of your particular Interest, you may stand, as it were, unseen, behind the Curtain of Indifferency, and hear, without blushing, the Opinions of others, if Chance or your Will should please to make them the object of their Discourse.

Amongst whom, if any accuse them, as too cheap and obvious; they are unadvised Questioners of their own Charter, in case they should be *Fathers*; who were never denied yet the Freedom to teach their Children to mannage an Hobbyhorse, without offering Violence to Gravity or Discretion.

## To his SON.

Neither do we so ordinarily fall, through the unevenness or difficulty of the *Way*, as Carelessness and Ignorance in the *Journals of former Experience*: This makes it the greatest Demonstration of *Paternal Affection*, with the Pelican, to dissect my self before you, and by ripping up my own Bowels, to let you see where the *Defects of Humanity* reside; which are not only the Occasions of many Diseases, but of most of the Misfortunes accompanying this Life.

And though in passing through so much weakness, they are rendred more deficient, than considered in their own Nature, in truth they are: Yet being the best I am able to afford you, they cannot but be looked upon (by you) for as lively a Monument of my Love, as if they bore the Magisterial Impress of a Work of *Solomon's*.

And in regard of *Time*, none can be more opportune than this, in which Men carry Breasts of Steel against those of their own Profession (some *Nicities* excepted) under the imperious pretence of Religion.

If any blinded with Ignorance, or misled by a more candid Nature, should engage for the *sufficiency* of These, or any thing else I have writ, that may perhaps hereafter be made Publick; I am conscious of too man Flaws in my self, to be swelled beyond my natural proportion.

*Your sake* alone produced them, that during the little time I have to live, you might turn to my Judgment, upon all occasions, without trouble; and converse with me being dead, without fear.

There is no great difference between good days and evil, when past; yet if thus fortified by the *Advice* of a *Father*, no less than the *Prayers* of an incomparable indulgent *Mother*, you should break out into *Extravagancies*, presuming on the Opinion of your own Judgment, and the mediation of our Love (though it would be the severest Curse remaining in the Custody of Fortune, yet unlaid upon me;) I doubt

To his SON.

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doubt not but to receive more Comfort from a Patience able to bear it, than you shall from a Repentance sufficient to blot it out.

But it is neither Delight in me, nor Charity unto you, by Jealousie to antedate *Crimes never yet committed*; I desire you therefore to take *these Admonitions as Marks to Sail by, not for Presages of Shipwreck.*

For any *Faults* Escaped here, through haste, or other Infirmary, I hope your Love will be large enough to cover them; nor exposing out of Ostentation or Idleness, *your Fathers shame*: whereby not only what is perfect may prove useful, but the very Mistakes and Blots obtained as great a Design, by exercising your Wit and Industry in their *Emendation*; which I expect you should faithfully perform in relation to These, or any thing else you find, may traduce the Credit, or stain the Memory of

Your Loving Father, &c.

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A D.

# ADVICE to a SON.

## I. Studies, &c.

1. **T**Hough I can never pay enough to your *Grandfather's* Memory, for his tender care of my *Education*, yet I must observe in it this Mistake; That by keeping me at home, where I was one of my young *Masters*, I lost the advantage of my most docile time. For not undergoing the same Discipline, I must needs come short of their experience, that are bred up in *Free Schools*; who, by plotting to rob an Orchard, &c. run through all the Subtilties required in taking of a Town; being made, by use, familiar to *Secresie*, and *Compliance with Opportunity*; Qualities never after to be attained at cheaper rates than the hazard of all: whereas these see the danger of trusting others, and the Rocks they fall upon, by a too obstinate adhering to their own imprudent resolutions; and all, this under no higher penalty than a Whipping: And 'tis possible this indulgence of my Father might be the cause I afforded him so poor a Return for all his Cost.

But though *Children* attain to an exacter Knowledge, both of themselves and the World, in *Free* and populous *Schools*, than under a more solitary Erudition; yet I think the *Charity* of our *Forefathers* in nothing so much mistaken, as in the vast Sums they imployed in these (more seeming than real) pious uses; which now much redounds to the prejudice of the Plough, and the more beneficial *Manufactures* of our Nation: The Sons of the *Menu* lying so long under this lazy

Course,



*Course*, that they are rendred ever after resty to Labour and Travel: which fills the Common-wealth with *Thieves* and *Beggars*; no way to be prevented, but by garbling out of them all Boys of an incapacity, and retaining none that make not more than an ordinary demonstration of an extraordinary propensity to Learning: since through the Contrary Practice, we lye under the Curse *Jeroboam* brought upon *Israel*: For by making the *meanest of the People*, both for Parts and Birth, and so of the least credit, *Priests*, Religion is now fallen into contempt.

2. As your Education hath been befriended by a *Foundation*, so you may endeavour the Requital, if God makes you able: However let not the contrary afflict you; since it is observed by some, That his *name who burnt the Temple of Diana, out-lasteth theirs that built it*; a fortune God grant may never fall upon our *Universities*. Nevertheless, if *Zeal* over-heated in the narrow hearts of men ignorant and covetous, should dry up the *Fountains of Learning*, by appropriating their *Revenues*, and demolishing those *Monuments* (to the Fame of which Foreign Nations resort in Pilgrimages, for to offer up Honour and Admiration to these Shrines, never empty of glorious Spirits, and return more loaden with Satisfaction, than they could possibly bring Prejudice) yet she should pull down no more, than she had formerly raised, when incited, by a contrary Affection, to Charity and Knowledge; therefore, a Provocation not strong enough to distemper a wise Man's Patience; who may easily observe, in his own or precedent Books of Experience, as great Maps of *Devastation*: For, if *one Age* did not level, what another had erected, Variety were lost, and no means left to render the present or future Generations famous or infamous. However such, as by disobliging Learning and good Wits, frown upon their Painters, cannot expect, their Picture should be conveyed true or fair to Posterity.

3. Let



3. Let not an over-passionate prosecution of Learning draw you from making an honest *Improvement of your Estate*; as such do, who are better read in the Bigness of the whole Earth, than that little Spot, left them by their Friends, for their support.

4. *A mixt Education suits Employment best*: Scholars and Citizens, by a too long plodding in the same Track, have their Experience seldom dilated beyond the Circle of a narrow Profession; of which they carry so apparent Marks, as bewray in all Places, by their *Words* and *Gestures*, the *Ped* and *Company* they were brought up in; so that all ways of Preferment are stopped against them, through others Prejudice, or their own natural Insufficiency; it being ordinary in their Practice, to mistake a wilful *Insolence* for a resolute *Confidence*, and *Pride* for *Gravity*; the shortness of the *Tedder*, their long Restraint confin'd them to, not affording convenient Room to take a decent Measure of *Virtue* and *Vice*. So by using others as they were dealt with themselves, reputation is lost when they come to command; it being justified in History, That *Slaves* after they have forgot all fear of the *Sword*, cannot shake off the Terror of the *Whip*. Therefore few not freely Educated, can wear decently the Habit of a *Court*, or behave themselves in such a Mediocrity, as shall not discover too much Idolatry towards those in a superior Orb, or disdain in relation to such, as Fortune rather than Merit hath possibly placed below them.

5. I have observed in *Collegiate Discipline*, That all the *Reverence* to *Superiors*, learned in the Hall or Chappel, is lost in the *irreverent discourse* you have of them in your Chambers; by this, you leave the *principal business of Youth* neglected, which is, to be perfect in *Patience* and *Obedience*; Habits no where so exactly learned, as in the *foundations* of the *Jesuites*, could they be fetcht thence without Prejudice to Religion or Freedom.

6. If a more profitable Imployment pull you not too soon from the University, make some Inspection into *Physick*; which will add to your *Welcome* wherever you come; it being usual, especially for Ladies, to yield no less Reverence to their Physicians, than their Confessors: Neither doth the refusal of Fees abate your Profit proportionably to the Advancement it brings to your Credit: The Intricacy of the Study is not great; after an exact knowledge in *Anatomy* and *Drugs* is attained; not hard, by reason of the late Helps. Yet I advise you This, under such Caution, as not to imagine the Diseases you read of, inherent in your self; as some Melancholick young Men do, that make their first experiments upon their own Bodies, to their perpetual Detriment; therefore you may live By, not Upon *Physick*.

7. Do not prosecute beyond a superficial Knowledge, any *Learning* that moves upon no stronger Leggs, than the tottering Basis of *Conjecture* is able to afford it: For though you may please your self in your own Conceit, it will not be so easie to satisfie others: The capacity of the ignorant lying as much below such Speculations, as the more knowing are above them: there remaining to all, in things dubious, a power to reject, or admit what opinions they please. Therefore no *Study* is worth a Mans whole employment, that comes not accompanied with *Profit*, or such unanswerable *Reasons*, as are able to silence all future debate; Nor to be found out of the List of the *Mathematicks*, the Queen of Truth, that imposeth nothing upon her Subjects, but what she proves due to Belief by infallible Demonstration: The only knowledge we can on Earth gain, likely to attend us to Heaven. As for other human *Learning*, so much of it as is not hewed out of this Rock, is nothing but Lumber and Forms, owned for the Majesty and Employment only of *Academies*, and of little better use than to kind Discourse by the Fires side. Yet though it cannot

not be denied, that *Number* and *Measure*, were all the Journey-men God had during his six days labour; my Memory reacheth the time, when the generality of People thought her most useful *Branches*, *Spells*, and her *Professors*, *Limbs of the Devil*; converting the Honour of *Oxford*, due for her (though at that time slender) proficiency in *this Study*, to her shame: Nor a few of our then *foolish Gentry*, refusing to send their Sons thither, lest they should be smutted with the *Black Art*; a term found out by a no less dark *Ignorance*, the only Enemy to this Angelical Knowledge. Nor is this a Prodigie in the circulation Time, as might easily be instanced, did discretion allow the same liberty to the dissecters of the present Age, as she doth for those past: Neither can you make application of any example better, than of this, to dissuade you from affording an immoderate proportion of Benevolence, or Malignity in relation to any thing, others condemn or approve.

8. *Huge Volumes*, like the Ox roasted whole at *Bartholomew Fair*, may proclaim plenty of Labour and Invention, but afford less of what is delicate, savory and well concocted, than *smaller Pieces*: This makes me think, that though, upon occasion, you may come to the Table, and examine the Bill of Fare, set down by such *Authors*; yet it cannot but lessen Ingenuity, still to fall aboard with them; *Human sufficiency being too narrow, to inform with the pure Soul of Reason, such vast Bodies.*

9. As the Grave hides the Faults of *Physick*, no less than Mistakes, Opinion and contrary Applications are known to have enriched the Art withal; so many *old Books*, by like advantages rather than desert, have crawled up to an esteem above *new*: It being the business of better heads perhaps than ever their writers owned, to put a glorious and significant gloss upon the meanest conceit or improbable Opinion of *Antiquity*: Whereas *Modern Authors* are brought by *Criticks* to a strict Account for the smallest semblance of

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of a Mistake. If you consider this seriously, it will learn you more Moderation, if not Wisdom.

10. Be conversant in the *Speeches, Declarations* and *Transactions* occasioned by the *late War*: out of which more natural and *useful Knowledge* may be sucked, than is ordinary to be found in the mouldy Records of Antiquity.

When I consider with what contradiction *Reports* arrived at us, during our late Civil Wars; I can give the less encouragement to the reading of *History: Romances*, never acted, being born purer from Sophistication than Actions reported to be done, by which Posterity hereafter (no less than Antiquity heretofore) is likely to be led into a false, or at best, but a contingent belief. *Cesar*, tho' in this happy, that he had a Pen able to grave into neat Language what his Sword at first more roughly cut out, may in my judgment, abuse his Reader: For he, that for the Honour of his own Wit, doth make People *speak better*, than can be supposed Men so barbarously bred were able, may possibly report they *fought worse*, than really they did. Of a like Value are the *Orations of Thucidides, Livy, Tacitus*, and most other Historians; which doth not a little prejudice the Truth of all the rest.

Were it worthy or capable to receive so much Illumination from one never made welcome by it, I should tell the World (as I do you) *There is as little Reason to believe, Men know certainly all they Write, as to think they Write all they Imagine*: And as this cannot be admitted without Danger, so the other, tho' it may in Shame be denied, is altogether as true.

11. A few Books well studied, and throughly digested, nourish the Understanding more, than hundreds but gargled in the Mouth, as ordinary Students use: And of these Choice must be had answerable to the Profession you intend: For a States-Man, *French Authors* are best, as most fruitful in *Negotiations* and *Memoirs*,  
left

left by Publick Ministers, and by their Secretaries published after their Deaths: Out of which you may be able to unfold the Riddles of all States: None making more faithful Reports of things done in all Nations, than *Embassadors*; who cannot want the *best Intelligence*, because their Princes Pensioners unload in their Bosoms, all they can discover. And here, by way of Prevention, let me inform you, That some of our late *Embassadors* (which I could name) impaired our Affairs, by *treating with Foreign Princes in the Language of the Place*: By which they did not only descend below their Masters Dignity, but their own Discretion: betraying for want of Words of gravity, the intrinsick Part of their Employment: And going beyond their *Commission*, oftner by Concession, than confining themselves within it, or to it; *the true Rule for a Minister of State*, not hard to be gained by a resolute contest: Which if made by an Interpreter he like a medium, may intercept the shame of any impertinent Speech, which Egareness or Indiscretion may let slip: Neither is it a small advantage to gain so much time for Deliberation, what is fit farther to urge: It being besides, too much an honouring of their Tongue and undervaluing your own, to Profess your self a Master therein, especially since they scorn to learn yours. And to shew this is not grounded on my single Judgment, I have often been informed, that the first and wisest *Earl of Pembroke*, did return an Answer to the *Spanish Ambassador*, in *Welch*, for which I have heard him highly commended.

12. It is an Aphorism in Physick, That *unwholesome Airs*, because perpetually suck'd into the Lungs, do *distemper Health more than coarser diet*, used but at set Times: The like may be said of *Company*, which if good, is a better Refiner of the Spirits, than ordinary Books.

13. Propose not them for Patterns, who make all Places rattle, where they come, with *Latin and Greek*; For the more you seem to have borrowed from Books, the poorer



poorer you proclaim your *Natural Parts*, which only can properly be called yours.

14. Follow not the tedious Practice of such as seek *Wisdom* only in *Learning*: Not attainable but by *Experience* and *Natural Parts*. *Much Reading*, like a too great Repletion, stopping up, through a concurrence of diverse, sometimes contrary Opinions, the Access of a nearer, newer and quicker *Invention* of your own. And for *Quotations*, they resemble *Sugar in Wine*, marring the natural taste of the *Liquor*, if it be good; if bad, that of it self: such *Patches* rather making the *rent* seem greater, by an interruption of the *Stile*, than less, if not so neatly applyd as to fall in without *drawing*: Nor is any *Thief* in this kind sufferable, who comes not off, like a *Lacedemonian*, without discovery.

15. Spend no time in Reading, much less Writing *Strong lines*: Which like tough meat, ask more pains and time in chewing, than can be recompensed by all the nourishment they bring.

16. *Books* stately Writ debase your *Stile*; the like may be truly objected to *Weak Preachers*, and *Ignorant Company*. Pens Improving, like childrens legs, proportionably to their *Exercise* (so as I have seen some stand amazed at the length of their own reach, when they came to be extended by Employment;) This appear'd in the late King *Charles*, who, after his more imperious destiny, had placed him under the Tutorage of an unavoidable necessity, attain'd a *Pen* more Majestical, than the *Crown* he loit. And, tho' King *James* had such an over-esteem of his own *Learning*, that he Imagined all who deserved in that kind, robbed the Monument he sought to build to his Fame; the Foundation of which he fondly conceited to have laid in the Opinion of the World by his printed *Books*, believing they would be valued by impartial Posterity, at the same rate his Flatterers set them up to in his life time; Yet in this he was so far exceeded by his Son, that all that

come after may learn ; *Experience is a better Tutor than Buchanan.*

17. The way to *Elegancy of stile*, is to employ your Pen upon every Errand ; and the more trivial and dry it is, the more Brains must be allowed for Sauce: Thus by checking all ordinary Invention, your Reason will attain to such a Habit, as not to dare to present you but with what is excellent ; and if void of Affection, it matters not how mean the Subject is : There being the same Exactness observed, by good Architects, in the structure of the Kitchen, as the Parlour.

18. When business or Complement calls you to *Write Letters*, Consider what is fit to be said, were the Party present, and set down That.

19. Avoid *Words or Phrases* likely to be learned in base Company ; lest you fall into the Error, the late Archbishop *Land* did ; who tho' no ill speaker, yet blunted his repute by saying in the *Star-Chamber*, *Men entred the Church as a Tinker and his Bitch do an Alehouse*. But this may easily be declined by those who read for their imitation the incomparable *Lines of the late King*, written in a Stile as free from Affectation as Levity.

20. The small reckoning I have seen made (especially in their life time) of excellent *Wits*, bids me advise you, that if you find any delight in *writing*, to go on : But, in hope to please or satisfy others, I would not black the end of a Quill : For long experience hath taught me, That *Builders* always, and *Writers* for the most part, spend their money and time in the purchase of Reproof and Censure from envious Contemporaries, or self-conceited Posterity. He that gets the good word of his Reader, hath nothing else to look for, nor ask : Therefore if you would happily attain your end, Imitate an active Gentleman, I knew, who passing by such as threw the *Bar*, would take it up and pitch it as far as he was able, the first time, and so leave them : Now few could overthrow him ; and such as did, came short in credit : Be-

cause

cause it was the general Opinion, that he who without untrussing, or making such a preparation as the Clowns use to do, could at the first go so far, must needs with another assay or two, have out-gone them all: tho' in truth he could not. Thus had he not only his own strength, but the Peoples, which lies in Opinion, to advance him.

21. Be not frequent in *Poetry*, how excellent soever your vein is, but make it *rather your Recreation, than Business*: Because, tho' it swells you in your own opinion, it may render you less in that of wiser men, who are not ignorant, how great a Mass of Vanity, for the most part coucheth under this Quality, Proclaiming their *Heads, like Ships of use only for Pleasure, and so richer in Trimming than Lading*.

It is incident to many, but as it were natural with Poets, to *think others take the like pleasure in hearing, as they do in reading their own Inventions*. Not considering, that the generality of ears are commonly stopped with prejudice of Ignorance: Neither can the *Understandings* of men, any more than their *Tastes*, be wooed to find a like favour in all things; one approving what others condemn, upon no weightier an account than the single score of their own Opinions. Yet some, like infirm people, make it the chief part of their entertainment, to *shew strangers their gouty Lines*; in which they do not seldom become more unhappy than those really diseased, who by such boldness do sometimes hear of a *Remedy*, whereas the other render themselves incurable: For tho' neat *Wits*, like fair *Ladies*, may taste a Pleasure in making communicable the Beauty of their Parts; yet they both appear most grateful, when they are obtained with struggling and blushing.

22. The Art of *Musick* is so unable to refund for the Time and Cost required to be perfect therein, as I cannot think it worth any serious endeavour: The owner of that Quality being still obliged to the trouble of calculating

culating the difference between the morose humour of a rigid Refuser, and the cheap and prostituted levity and forwardness of a mercenary Fidler. Denial being as often taken for Pride, as a too ready compliance falls under the notion of Ostentation: Those so qualified seldom knowing when it is time to begin, or give over; especially *Women*, who do not rarely decline in modesty, proportionably to the progress they make in *Musick*; such (if handsom) being *Traps baited at both ends*, and catch strangers as oft as their Husbands, no less tired with the one than the other.

23. Wear your *Cloaths neat*, exceeding rather than coming short of others of like fortune; a Charge born out by Acceptance where-ever you come: Therefore *spare all other ways rather than prove defective in this*.

24. Never buy but with ready *Money*; and be drawn rather to fix where you find things *Cheap and Good*, than for *Friendship* or *Acquaintance*, who are apt to take it unkindly, if you will not be cheated. For if you get nothing else by going from one Shop to another, you shall gain Experience.

25. Next to *Cloaths*, a good *Horse* becomes a Gentleman: in whom can be no great loss, after you have got the *skill to chuse him*; which once attained, you may keep your self from being cozened, and pleasure your friend: The greatest danger is *Haste*: I never lov'd to fix on one *Fat*, for then I saw him at the best, without hope of improvement: If you have fallen on a *Bargain not for your turn*, make the Market your Chapman, rather than a Friend.

26. Gallop not through a *Town*, for fear of hurting your self or others; besides the undecency of it, which may give cause to such as see you, to think your *Horse*, or *Brains* none of your own.

27. *Wrestling* and *Vaulting* have ever been looked upon by me as more useful than *Fencing*, being often out-dar'd by Resolution, because of the vast difference



I.

difference between a Foyn and a Sword, an House and a Field.

28. *Swimming* may save a man, in case of necessity ; tho' it loseth many, when practised in wantonness, by increasing their confidence ; therefore, for Pleasure exceed not your depth ; and in seeking to save another, beware of drowning your self.

29. Tho' *Machiavel* sets down *Hunting* and *Hawking* in the Bill of Advice he prescribes to a Prince, as not only the wholsomest and cheapest Diversions, both in relation to himself and his People, but the best Tutors to Horsemanship, Stratagems and Situations on which he may have after occasion to place an Army. Yet these are so much in the disposition of Chance (the most delightful part being wholly managed according to the sense of the Creature) that by such cross accidents, as do not seldom intervene storms of Choler are often raised, in which many humors flash out, that in a greater serenity prudence would undoubtedly conceal ; so as I could name some reputed owers of a habit of Policy, more ruffled, and farther put out of their byas, by a small rub lying in the way of their pleasure, than a greater could cause in that of their profit. And as sinister events in these Pastimes deject a man below the ordinary level of discretion, so a happy success doth as often wind him up to such a jovial pin, that he becomes a familiar Companion to those who can inform his Judgment in little, but what signifies nothing, and whom in a more reserved temper he would think it tedious to hear, yet cannot after shake off their acquaintance, without incurring the censure of Pride or Inconstancy. Neither am I led to this opinion by any particular disaffection, but out of the greater reverence I bear to the wisdom of Sir *Philip Sidney*, who said that *next Hunting he liked Hawking worst*. However tho' he may have fallen into as hyperbolical an extream, yet who can put too great a scorn upon their folly, that to



bring home a raskal *Deer*, or a few rotten *Coneys*, submit their Lives to the will or passion of such as may take them, under a penalty no less slight, than there is discretion shewed in exposing them?

30. Such as are betrayed by their easie nature, to be ordinary *Security* for their Friends, leave so little to themselves, as their Liberty remains ever after arbitrary at the will of others. Experience having recorded many (whom their Fathers had left elbow-room enough) that by *Suretyship* have expired in a Dungeon. But if you cannot avoid this Labyrinth, enter no farther than the thread of your own Stock will reach; the observation of which will, at worst, enable you to bail your self.

Let not the *Titles of Consanguinity* betray you into a prejudicial Trust; no blood being apter to raise a Fever, or cause a Consumption sooner in your poor Estate, than that which is nearest your own; as I have most unhappily found, and your good *Grandfather* presaged, tho' God was pleased to leave it in none of our powers to prevent: Nothing being truer in all *Solomon's Observations*, than that *A good Friend is nearer than an unnatural Brother*.

31. He that lends upon publick Faith is *Security* for his own Money, and can blame none more than himself, if never paid: Common Debts, like common Lands, lying ever most neglected.

32. Honesty treats with the World upon such vast disadvantage, that a Pen is often as useful to defend you as a Sword, by making Writing the witness of your *Contracts*; for where profit appears, it doth commonly cancel the bands of Friendship, Religion, and the memory of any thing that can produce no other Register than what is verbal.

33. In a case of importance, hear the *Reasons of Others* pleaded, but be sure not to be so implicitly led by their Judgments, as to neglect a greater of your Own:

As

I. As *Charles of England* did, to the loss of his Crown. For as the ordinary saying is, *Count Mony after your Father*: So the same prudence adviseth, to measure the Ends of all Councils, tho' uttered by never so intimate a Friend.

34. Beware nevertheless of thinking your self wiser or greater than you are. *Pride* brake the Angels in Heaven, and spoils all heads we find crackt here; for such as observe those in *Bedlam*, shall perceive their Fancies to beat most upon mistakes in Honour or Love. The way to avoid it is, duly to consider, how many are above you in Parts, yet below you in Condition: And that all men are ignorant in so many things; as may justly humble them, tho' sufficiently knowing to bar out despair.

Shun *Pride* and *Baseness*, as Tutors to Contempt, the first of others, the latter of your self: A haughty Carriage putting as well a mean esteem on what is praiseworthy in you, as an high Excise on that appears amiss, every one being more inquisitive after the Blemishes, than the Beauties of a Proud Person; whereas the humble Soul passeth the strictest Guards with more faults, like the fair mouth'd Traveller, without scorn, or searching.

Tho' it be common with the King of Heaven, to Punish the wicked and Reward the good; yet we find him said to Resist no vice, but *Pride*, nor Exalt other vertue, than *Humility*: That being the only Sin we read of, ever brake into his Court, unwashed by forgiveness; where she became the first Precédent of Gods lessening his Family, and the Foundress of Hell. Nor are his Vicegerents upon Earth more auspicious to a lofty look for any affection they do naturally bear to it, or its owners: tho' sometimes they dissemble their dislike, out of the use they make of such good Parts, as have the ill fortune to be so accompanied. This vice being taken as infection upon Majesty, the only birth-right of Princes. Therefore (dear Son) let not the apprehension of your

merit lead you up to this Pinnacle, from whence many have fallen, to their utter ruin. Nothing you find about you being your own, but scraps stolen from Books, and begged, or rather dearly bought of Experience: This proves the vanity of Pride, that tho' she is able to boast of no more than she hath received; (the Hive being possibly altered, but not the Honey) yet she is ravished so with the conceit of what she hath (a contemplation befitting only the Lord of all things) as to neglect a supply of what is wanting; which, justly summed up, amounts to more than the abilities of any one man are able to reach.

35. King James used to say of a Person in high Place about him, that *he ever trembled at his approach, it minded him so of his Padagogue*. Truth is; a *supercilious aspect* might be more sutable to the Court of Spain, where men seem wiser than they are, than that of England, where they for the most part were wiser, than at the first sight they appeared to be: No Princes delighting to see *Anxiety* painted before them, when free from Perturbation themselves; no more than a joyful countenance, when their affairs or humour call for a contrary aspect: to which a Courtier is bound in wisdom to sute his *Gestures*; who are more generally pleased with a *Sanguine Complexion*, than such as own a *dismal or melancholy look*. But Kings are Heteroclites, and so far from being comprized under general Rules, that it is not possible sometimes for Patience her self to decline their Malignity, or find a temperament sutable unto them: Only this I leave you as an Experimented Aphorism, that at all times, but especially when good or bad news is expected, such as *whisper*, make any *sudden noise*, or *approach hastily* to the Throne, put them in disaray, either deluding their Hopes, or anticipating their Fears. In a word, the best way to keep you in esteem with great ones, is, to observe such a mannerly circumspection, as your *accesses* may be neither terrible, nor tedious.

36. To



36. To *whisper* with another, in company of your betters, is *uncivil*, and the more eminent the person is, the greater suspicion it raiseth, who owns an interest in the exposition of all things done or said in his presence by meaner men. Nor is it safe to pour a *secret* publicly into the ear of a *Prince*, at the suit of a less weighty occasion, than that of an unavoidable necessity: such *Intimacy* alarming not only the suspicion of Enemies, but the envy of Friends; since every one, whose eyes chance to glance upon during your Discourse, imagines himself the subject treated about: The *Pride*, a *Secretary* of State took in this (seeming, but not seldom destructive) Honour, did in my time so perplex the *Minion*, as he procured his ejection, without affording any other Reason, than his *whispering* with the *King*, in his presence; taken then for an high *Presumption*, however it may seem now the Forms of Honour are altered.

37. When you *speak* to any (especially of Quality) *look them full in the Face*; other Gestures bewraying want of Breeding, Confidence, or Honesty; *dejected Eyes* confessing, to most Judgments, Guilt or Folly.

38. *Impudence* is no *Virtue*, yet able to beggar them all; being for the most part in good Plight, when the rest starve; and capable of carrying her Followers up to the highest Preferments; found as useful in a Court, as Armour in a Camp. *Scotchmen* have ever made good the Truth of this, who will go farther with a Shilling, than an *Englishman* can ordinarily pass for a Crown.

39. I do not find you guilty of *Covetousness*, neither can I say more of it, but that like a *Candle*, ill made, it smothers the Splendor of an happy Fortune in its own Grease.

Yet live so *Frugally*, if possible, as to reserve something, may enable you to grapple with any future contingency. And provide in Youth, since Fortune hath this proper with other common Mistresses, that she deserts Age, especially in the Company of Want. But

But I need not use other Persuasions unto you concerning *Thrift*, than what the straitness of your own Fortune points you to ; more contracted by others Covetousness than my Prodigality.

40. 'Tis generally said of the *Fox*, That he supplants the *Badger*, and nestles himself in his Den : What may be pure nature in him, wise *Seneca* adviseth for the highest Prudence, rather to purchase a *House* ready *built*, than endure the tedious and troublesom Expectation and Charge attending the most diligent and able *Contriver* : Who cannot find so much pleasure in seeing his Idea's brought into Form, as he shall meet Discontent from the Mistakes of his Commands, Greatness of the Expence, and Idleness of the Workmen ; who the better to draw men into this Labyrinth, make things appear more cheap and easie, than any Undertaker of such a Task ever yet found ; knowing, if once engaged, the Spurs of Shame and Necessity will drive him on ; when the *Buyer* may take or leave, having a World to chuse in, and the choicest Conveniences at anothers Cost, without participating of their Disgrace, for such Faults as Curiosity may find, and he himself might have fallen into, had he been Operator : Since nothing was ever yet so exactly contrived, but better Information, or a new discovery of a more commodious *Fashion* or *Situation* did arreign of Defect. Which altogether, proves it the best Advice, rather to endure the Absurdities of others *gratis*, than to be at the Cost to commit greater your self.

Keep no mor *Servants* than you have full Employment for ; and if you find a good one, look upon him under no severer aspect than that of an *humble Friend* ; the difference between such a one and his Master residing rather in Fortune than Nature. Therefore do not put the worst Constructions upon any thing he doth well, or mistakes. Thus by proportioning your Carriage to those below, you will the better bring your Mind to



a safe and easie Depoartment to such as Fate hath set above you. To conclude, *Servants* are ever Sharers with their Masters in Prosperity, and not seldom an occasion of their Destruction in bad Times, by fomenting Jealousie from without, or Treachery within.

41. Leave your *Bed* upon the first desertion of Sleep: It being ill for the Eyes to readlying, and worse for the Mind to be idle: since the Head, during that laziness, is commonly a Cage for Unclean Thoughts.

42. It is no where wholsom, to eat so long as you are able; especially in *England*, where Meat, aptest to inveigle the Stomach to an over-repletion, comes last: But in case you transgress at one Meal, let no persuasion tempt you to a second Repast, till by a fierce Hunger you find your self quite discharg'd of the former Excess. An exact Observance of this hath, under God, made me reach these Times, and may, through his Mercy, preserve you for better. I have heard, That the *Indians*, by the great Moderation they use, are well able to digest raw Flesh; thought by some of more Natural, if not easie Concoction, than what is dry-roasted.

*Drink* not being *Hot*, unless Sack, &c. such Droughts residing rather in the Palate and Throat, than Stomach, and so safer quenched by Gargles, Liquorish, a Cherry or *Tobacco*; the use of which I neither persuade nor prohibit, having taken it my self since sixteen, without any extraordinary Marks of Good or Ill, but cannot approve Nosing, or swallowing it down; as many to my Knowledge have done, not long liv'd.

43. Nothing really acceptable to the Gusto of Humanity, but Prudence may experiment without detection, or waking the clamorous Multitude, (gratified in all Opportunities they have to accuse others, tho' far more guilty themselves: ) a Temper not possibly to be attain'd by the Lovers of *Drink*, which will not only render my Reasons, but your own uselefs.

Let

Let not Incivility in the Administration of an Officer provoke you to a contempt of the Authority he acts by; many being quick in Memory, who, out of scorn to be catechised by a *Constable*, have summ'd up their days at the end of a Watchman's Bill; who being armed with Law, ought not in Reason to be resisted; since, if you are no Malefactor, he attends for your Preservation. Nor is there a Capacity of finding Honour by Night about those, that can lay Claim themselves to none by day-light; and through whom a small drop of Silver will carry you more safe than a Sword. Therefore since this folly is the Birth-right of *Drink*, I would have only Dinners assigned for Friendship; in hope that such as begin then, tho' they out-fit the Sun, will be delivered of the fury of the Distemper before the *Watch* be set.

Were *Drink* capable of Counsel, I should advise, if unfortunately overtaken by such a *Distemper*, not to remove from the Place you received it in; by which some part of the shame may be avoided, and more of the Danger, attending the irregular Motions of this giddy Spirit.

*Drink*, during the Operation of the Distemper, will Act all the Humors habitual in *Madmen*: Amongst both which I have seen some very Zealous and Devout, who, the fit once over, remained no less Prophane. This proves *Godliness* capable of being feigned, and may raise an Use of Circumspection, in relation to such as profess more than is suitable to Human Frailty.

44. He that always regulates his *Diet* by the strict Rules of Physick, makes his Life no less uncomfortable to himself than unsociable unto others: The like doth he that useth palpable *Plots* in trivial things: Who is made by this so suspected in Commerce, as none will approach him unarmed with the like Weapons: For tho' *Wisdom* may purchase Reverence and Attention; *Subtily* (distinguished from it only by a sly Carriage) raiseth always Suspicion: Wherefore, the

Close-

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*Clofeness of the Heart, in matters of Consequence, is best secured by an openness of things of less Moment.*

45. Experience hath found it no less shame than Danger, in being the *Chief at a merry Assignment*: Since what is of evil Savour falls most to their Mess at the upper end of the Table; but good to the meanest, who have the Impudence to scramble up any things that suit to their Advantage, as readily as they can have Oaths to decline what may redound to their Loss.

Beware what *Company* you keep, since *Example prevails more than Precept*, tho' by the Erudition dropping from these Tutors, we imbibe all the tinctures of Virtue and Vice: This renders it little less than impossible for Nature to hold out any long Siege against the batteries of Custom and Opportunity.

46. Let your *Wit* rather serve you for a Buckler to defend your self, by a handsom Reply, than the Sword to wound others, tho' with never so facetious a *Reproach*, Remembring that a *Word cuts deeper than a sharper Weapon*, and the wound it makes is longer in curing: A blow proceeding but from a light motion of the Hand agitated by Passion, whereas a disgraceful Speech is the result of a low and base esteem settled of the Party in your Heart.

47. *Much Wisdom* resides in the *Proverbs* of all Nations, and therefore fit to be taken notice of: of which number this is common amongst us, *Play with me, but hurt me not*, It being Past peradventure, that more *Duels* arise from Jest than Earnest, and between Friends than Enemies; serious Injuries seldom happening but upon premeditation, which affords Reason some, tho' perhaps no full Audience; whereas this extemporary Spirit conjured up by shame and smart, harkens to nothing but the rash advice of a present Revenge.

48. If an *Injury* be of so rank a Nature, as to extort (in point of Honour) an *unsavoury Word* (never suitable



ble to the mouth of a Gentleman) Sword-men advise, to second it with a Blow by way of prevention, lest he striking first (which cannot but be expected) you should be cast behind-hand. But this their Decree not being confirmed by *Act of Parliament*, I cannot find it suitable with Prudence or Religion, to make the Sword Umpire of your own Life and anothers, no less than the Law, upon no more serious an occasion, than the vindication of your Fame, lost or gain'd, by this brutish valour, in the opinion of none that are either wise or pious: It being out of the reach of question, that a *Quarrel* is not to be scrud up to such a hight of Indiscretion, without arrainging one or both parties of Madnes: Especially since formal *Duels* are but a late invention of the Devils, never heard of, in relation to private Injuries; among the *Romans* the *Gladiators* fighting for their Pleasure, as the *Horatii* and *Curatii* for the safety of the People. It cannot be denied, but that Story lays before us many kill'd for private revenge, but never accompanied with so ridiculous a Formality, as the sending of *Challenges*, which renders the Dead a greater Murtherer than he is that kills him, as being without doubt the Author of his own Death. This makes me altogether believe, that such wild Man-hood had its original from *Romances*, in which the Gyant is designed for death, and the Knight to marry the Lady, whose Honour he hath preserved; not so gently treated by the *English Law*, where if his Legs or Friends be not the better, he is hang'd, and his Estate confiscated, to the perpetual detriment of his Family: besides the sting of Conscience, and a natural fear, like that of *Cain's*, attending Blood, by which the remainder of life is made tedious and miserable to such unfortunate Men, who seem in all honest Company to smell too strong of Blood, to be taken into any intimate Relation.



I.

I.

49. *Prosecute* not a *Coward* too far, lest you make him turn valiant to your disadvantage; it being impossible for any standing even in the World's opinion, to gain glory by the most he can have of those that lie under such a reputation; besides, *Valour is rather the Product of Custom, than Nature*, and often found, where least expected; do not therefore waken it to your prejudice, as I have known many, that would still be *Insulting*, and could not see when they were well.

50. *Speak disgracefully* of none at *Ordinaries*, or publick *Meetings*: Lest some Kinsman, or Friend, being there should force you to a base Recantation, or engage you in a more indiscreet Quarrel: This renders all Free Discourse dangerous at Meetings or mixed Companies.

51. Carry no *Dogs* to *Court*, or any publick Place, to avoid Contests with such as may spurn, or endeavour to take them up: The same may be said of *Boys* not wise or strong enough to decline or revenge Affronts, whose Complaints do not seldom engage their Masters; as I knew one of Quality killed in the Defence of his *Page*: The like danger attends such as are so indiscreet, as to Man *Whores* in the Street, in which every one pretends to have an Interest for his Money, and therefore unwilling to see them monopolized, especially when they have got a Pot in their Pate.

52. *Reveal* not the Pranks of anothers *Love*, how serious or ridiculous so ever you find them, it being unlikely the Mirth should compensate the Danger: By this you shall purchase your self a *Retentive Faculty*, and sell your Friend a stronger Confidence of your *Secrecy*; hanging on him the Lock of a perpetual Obligation, of which you may ever be keeper of the Key, either out of Love or Fear: Yet many other Faults are not more dangerous to commit, than know without detecting.

53. Be

53. Be not *Trumpet* of your own *Charity*, or *Vices*; for by the one you disoblige the Receiver, as well as lose your Reward; and by the other, you alarm the Censures of Men; most being condemned through the Evidence they give against themselves by their *Words* and *Gestures*.

54. If it be *Levity* and *Ostentation*, to boast when you do well, in what Class of Folly must they be ranked, that brag of the *Favours* of *Women*? Rending themselves, by this, no less frail than they; It being more *Shame* for a *Man* to be leakie and incontinent at the *Mouth*, than for a *Woman* to scatter her *Favours*.

55. To make *Love* to married *Women* doth not only multiply the Sin, but the Danger; neither can you, if questioned by her Husband, use, with Hope of Victory, any sharper Weapon, than *Repentance*, sheathed in a modest *Excuse*.

56. Fly, with *Joseph*, the *Embraces* of great *Ladies*; lest you lose your Liberty, and see your Legs rot in the Stocks of the *Physician*; they being often Unwholsom, ever so unreasonable, as to exact a Constancy from you, themselves intend not to observe; perverting so far the Curse of God, as to make your *Desires* subject to theirs.

57. Usher not *Women* to *Masks*, *Plays*, or other such publick *Spectacles* to which you have not an easie Access for Money or Favour; such Places being apter to create Injury, than afford an handsom Opportunity for Revenge: Besides, if those you carry be Old and Deformed, they disparage you; if Young and Handsom, themselves.

To the Reader, concerning the follow-  
Discourse of *Love and Marriage*.

**T**His had not appeared, being a result of more juvenile Tears, but that I feared, if let alone, it might hereafter creep abroad from under a false Impression, and one more scandalous to that Sex, than becomes my Complexion or Obligation. Therefore, to vindicate me from the no less inhumane than unnatural Imputation of a Women-Hater, I do here protest, with a Reference to their Charity and my own most serious Affections, That if the Party Advised had been a Daughter, my Ink must have cast blacker, than the rich Grain of their Angelical Beauty is capable to be aspersed by. It being observable, That such Idolaters as made She-Deities the object of their Worship, were, by all, celebrated for most Learning, Wisdom and Civility. Nevertheless, tho' Women be Cordials when desire is past, and Juleps while the Heat continues, yet since it is ordinary, for Dablers in Beauty to mistake Poyson for Physick (such Feminine Boxes not always bearing Drugs suitable to their Inscriptions, but being often Painted with more Perfections, than they carry in them) I hope this Discourse may the better be excused, having the Example of Solomon to justify the Harshness of my Expressions, no less than his Follies to warrant the Necessity of the Caution; lest my Son should mire himself and his Hopes in the Pursuit of such foolish Flames, as have tempted the Strongest, Wisest and most Religious out of the Ways of Peace. I shall forestal the Reader with no farther Complement, than That he would forbear to condemn or praise beyond Reason; lest he should appear too severe towards my Levity, or indulgent to his own Morosity in Relation to Beauty.

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## ADVICE to a SON.

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### II. *Love and Marriage.*

1. **L**OVE, like a Burning-glass, Contracts the dilated Lines of Lust, and fixeth them upon one object; bestowed by our fellow-Creatures (the exacter Observers of the Dictates of Nature) promiscuously, without partiality in affection, on every distinct Female of their respective *Species*; whereas Man, being restrained to a particular Choice, by the severity of Law, Custom and his own more stupendious Folly; out of a jealousy to be robbed of a present desire, is so hurried away with the first apparition of an imaginary Beauty, (supposed by his Fancy, grossly abused by her Servants the Senses, corrupted and suborn'd through an implacable Appetite, which Nature for her own end of continuance, stirs up in all to this fleshly Conjunction) that no Reason can for the present be audible, but what pleadeth in favour of this soft Passion; which makes a deeper or lesser impress, proportionable to the temper of the Heart it meets with; causing Madness in some, Folly in all; placing, like stupid Idolaters, Divinity in a silly Creature, set by the Institutes of Nature in a far inferior Class of Perfection to that which makes it his Business to worship and adore it; imagining as false felicities in the fruition, as they apprehend Miseries in the Loss; when all they desire is but the Fruit of that Tree, the Kernel of that Apple, which first destroyed us all, fair to sight, but of fatal and dreadful consequence to the Taster; rendring him subject to Slavery, that was  
born



born free; and suffering her to Command, who ought in right Reason to Serve and Obey.

2. To cure *Youth* wholly of this Desire, were as unequal a task, as to divest it of Humanity: Therefore I expect you should be tossed in this Storm, but would not have you Shipwrack'd, by contracting your self to the Ocean, unless with the Duke of *Venice*, you might yearly repeat the Ceremony to as great an advantage.

3. For if ever *Marriages* were on all sides happy, (which is no Schism to doubt of) experience never found them among such as had no other dealing, but what they received from the flames of *Love*; which cannot hold without Jealousie, nor break without Repentance, and must needs render their Sleep unquiet, that have one of these *Caddis* or Familiars still knocking over their Pillow.

4. Those *Vertues*, *Graces*, and reciprocal *Desires*, bewitched Affection expected to meet and enjoy, Fruition and Experience will find absent, and nothing left but a painted Box, which Children and Time will empty of Delight; leaving Diseases behind, or, at best, incurable Antiquity.

5. Therefore I Charge you, (as you will answer the contrary another day to your own Discretion, and upon the penalty of a bitter (tho' vain) Repentance) not to truck for, or entertain Commerce upon the credit of *Marriage*, with a solitary, that is, an *undowed Beauty* (which if really intended, you question your own Judgment; if otherwise, the Honesty of you both:) From whence I have known such sad Consequents to result, as have made some (wise enough to presage the mischief of the event) so far concede to the Tears and Misery of the Party, as to cast themselves, out of meer Pity and Conscience, into the precipice of *Marriage*; burying their own Fortunes and future Felicity, only to satisfy the Affection of another.

6. *Marriage*, like a Trap set for Flies, may possibly be ointed at the Entrance, with a little Voluptuousness,

ness, under which is contained a draught of deadly Wine, more pricking and tedious than the Passions it pretends to cure, leaving the Patient in little quieter condition in the morning, than him that hath overnight kill'd a man to gratifie his Revenge.

*Eve*, by stumbling at the Serpents solicitations, cast her Husband out of Paradise; nor are her Daughters surer of foot, being foundered by the heat of Lust and Pride; and unable to bear the weight of so much of our Reputation, as Religion and Custom hath loaded them withal; that an unbalasted Behaviour, without other Leakage, is sufficient to cast away an Husbands Esteem: Neither doth the penalty of a *Light Report* laid on the *Mother*, conclude there, but diffuseth it self, like a Leprosie, over Posterity, being uncapable of any other cure, than length of time can deduce out of forgetfulness.

7. It were something yet, if *Marriage* could answer the expectation of all she boasts the cure of, in the large Bill our Mountebank Teachers proclaim in every street; which, upon trial, she often comes so far short of, as to satisfy none, but rather aggravates the sins of Solitude, making simple *Fornication* to sprout into *Adultery*. And if it happen that your *Wife* be *impotent* or *infected* (as not a few are) with one or more of those loathsome *Diseases* incident to weak feminine nature, which render her unsociable, you are Posted off, both by Lawyers and Divines, to the same Patience, I do here more opportunely propose, before you are fallen under so mischievous and expensive a Conjunction.

8. If none of my persuasions, nor others woful Experience, daily met with in the World, can deter you from yoking your self to anothers desires, make not a *Celebrated Beauty* the Object of your Choice; unless you are ambitious of rendring your House as populous as a Confectioners Shop; to which the gaudy Wasps, no less than the liquourish Flies, make it their Business to resort, in hope of obtaining a lick at your Honey-pot;

pot ; which tho' bound up with the strongest obligations or resolutions, and sealed by never so many protestations, yet Feminine Vessels are obnoxious to so many frailties, as they can hardly bear without breaking, the Pride and Content, they naturally take in seeing themselves adored : Neither can you, according to the *loose Custom of England*, decently restrain her from this Concourse, without making demonstration of Jealousie towards her (by which you confess your self a *Cuck-old* in your own Imagination already) or Incivility to such as come to Visit you ; tho' it may be strongly presumed, your sake hath the least share in this Ceremony, however tied in Manners to attend with patience, till his *Worship*, perhaps his *Lordship*, had pump'd his Wit dry, having no more Complements left but to take leave : Thus, with his Invention rebated, but not his Lust, he returns home ; where the old preserver of Bawdry, his Kinswoman, perceiving, by his dejected Countenance, that he came short of his desires, and wanting a new Gown, imbarks her self for the employment ; and to put the honestest Face upon so ugly a design, she contracts a straight alliance with your (yet possibly unconquered) Bed-fellow, and under pretence of a Gossipping, or perhaps a Voyage to some Religious Exercise, hurries her away in his *Honour's* Coach to a Meeting-House, where tho' she be taken by Storm, is fairly sent home with Bag and Baggage, being only plundered of what you are not likely to miss ; and finding it unsafe to complain, returns again upon her Parole, or so often as her new Governor Pleaseth to summon her, sheltering the fault under Custom, your unavoidable Fate, or perhaps Providence (which for their excuse, some are wicked enough to plead) till her Forehead be as much hardned with Impudence, as yours is with Reproaches, &c. And yet he is the happier owner, who hath a Wife wise enough to coceal the real Horns of her Husband, than she, that being Innocent, doth by her light Carriage make the base



Symptoms appear in the World's Opinion : Oh remember this, when you are about to forget the Pleasure and Safety, only to be found in a *Single Life*.

If you consider *Beauty* alone, quite discharged from such *Debentures*, as she owes to the Arts of *Tire-Women*, *Tailors*, *Shoomakers*, and perhaps *Painters*, you will find the remains so inconsiderable, as scarce to deserve your present Thoughts, much less to be made the Price of your perpetual Slavery : Be not then led, like a Child, by these gaudy *Butterflies*, amongst the Bryers and Nettles of the World ; since obtained, a little Time and Use will wear off their Fading Colours, leaving nothing in your Possession but a bald, drowsie *Moth* ; which if Good, will by accident, if Bad, make it her business to discontent you.

9. The *English Laws* are composed so far in favour of *Wives*, as if our Ancestors had sent Women to their Parliaments, whilst their Heads were a wool-gathering at Home, allowing no *abusing of Husbands Capital*, nor *Marriage* dissolvable, but in case of *Adultery*, not subject to proof but under the Attests of two Witnesses at one and the same Time : Nor is non-cohabitation a sufficient Discharge from his keeping all such Children, as her Lust shall produce during his abroad between the Four *English Seas* ; so as if his Wife be a *Strumpet*, he must Banish himself, or deal his Bread and Cloaths to the spurious Issue of a Stranger ; a Thralldom, no Wise man would sell himself to for the fairest Inheritance, much less for Trouble, Vexation and Want, during Life. Whence it may be strongly presumed, that the Hand of *Policy* (which first or last brings all things expedient to Human Society, under the Imperious Notion of Religion) hung this Padlock upon the Liberty of Men, and after Custom had lost the Key, the *Church*, according to her wonted Subtlety, took upon her to protect it ; delivering in her Charge to the People, that *single Wedlock* was by Divine Right, making the contrary, in diverse places, Death,



Death, and where she proceeded with the greatest Moderation, Excommunication: Condemning thereby (besides four fifth Parts of the World) the Holy *Patriarchs*, who among their so frequent Dialogues held with their Maker, were never Reprov'd for multiplying *Wives* and *Concubines*; reckoned to *David* as a Blessing; and to *Solomon* for a mark of Magnificence. Nevertheless the wily *Priests* are so tender of their own Conveniences, as to forbid all *Marriage* to themselves upon as heavy a punishment as they do *Poligamy* unto others: Now if nothing capable of the Name of Felicity was ever, by men or Angels, found to be denied to the *Priesthood*, may not *Marriage* be strongly suspected to be by them thought out of that List? Tho' to render it the more glib to the wider swallow of the long abused *Laiety*, they have gilt it with the glorious Epithete of a *Sacrament*, which yet they loath to clog their own Stomachs withall. However the patient submission to the Instituton of *Marriage* is the more to be wondered at, since *Man* and *Woman* not being allowed of equal strength, are so far prevailed upon by *Policy*, as quietly to submit themselves to one *Yoke*.

10. Yet this may be said for it, that as men suffer themselves to be bound when they are cut of the *Stone* or any sharp Disease, being conscious of their want of Resolution or Constancy: From whence the wise Operator takes so great an advantage, as not to let them lose, till they have obtained their Cure: So the grave *Law* settles by this way our wild and wandering Affections, converting them to the publick benefit, perswading such as are willing to hear her, That *A Wife is a Medicine both for strong and weak*, quenching the fire of the one, no less than restoring the heat of the other; being the true and shorter Part of the *Tally*, without which Man can render no just Account of his Life; thought too smooth and oily to climb Heaven, unless mingled with the Vinegar of *Marriage*.

11. Nevertheless there is not in Private Persons any other necessary Constraint to this *Conjunction*, but what results from Understandings so muffled for the present, that they cannot discern, that *Marriage* is a Clog fastned to the Neck of Liberty, by the juggling Hand of *Policy*, that provides only for the general Necessities of all in gross, not the particular Conveniences of Single Persons; who, by this, give stronger Security to the Commonwealth, than suits with Prudence or Liberty. And to such as ask, How should the World subsist, did all observe the like Caution? It may be answered, As well as without Unthrifts, who by spending their Estates profusely, make way for wiser men to be the more happy; and as it is impossible to find a Dearth of the latter, tho not compelled thereunto by any other Law, than the Instigation of their own Folly; so doubt not but there will be enough found of the former, to stock the World, without putting so chargeable an Experiment on your own Conveniency.

12. We brook nothing well, *Restraint* ties us to; therefore some take more Content in sharing a *Mistress* with others, than they can find in the sole Fruition of a *Wife*: The Reason is, *Strangers are taken for Dainties, Wives as Physick*. *Riches* and *Honour* were in the same Predicament, but that they still leave something behind to be desired; *Lust* nothing, beyond the Repetition of the same again, which after a few Enjoyments grows tedious. Other Courses weary us with the *Change*, this with Continuance.

13. Ask your self, What Desire you ever attained, that a long and often repeated *Fruition* did not render tedious, if not loathsom, tho' the thing wished for remained in the perfection it was before Enjoyment? And can your Reason promise you, to continue the same unto *Beauty*; so transitory, as it is in a manner lost, before you can truly consider, whether it belongs to Nature, or the Dress: Therefore when discontented with your present Condition, tumble towards any  
Change

Change, rather than into that bottomless Pit, out of which no Repentance can bayl you.

14. After that *Age, Weariness, Wisdom* or *Business* hath dispossessed you of this dumb and deaf *Amorous Spirit*, and concluded all Desires to *Uxorious Vanities*; it is possible your *Wife's* Appetite may increase, and that Disease of *Lust*, which your Youth cured before she had leasure to discover it, may then unseasonably interrupt your Sleep; calling for that, there shall be nothing in her, but Importunity, to provoke you to; nor in you, but the desire of Quiet, and to conjure down the fierce Devil *Jealousie*, which haunts the Houses of Married Folks, rendring them no less unhappy, dismal and clamorous, than the Temple of *Moloch*, where such Children and Servants, as you most delight in, shall pass through the Fire of daily contention.

15. Were it possible to assign to your Choice the *Virtues of your Mother* (which I Confess are inferior to none) and fancy a *Son*, with as rich Parts as imagination is able to endow a Creature withal; yet a *Daughter* may come, that for want of good Behaviour, or Care in *Marriage*, shall infuse so much Gall into your Cup, as will be able to imbitter all the Pleasures taken in the rest: Or if you shall escape this in regard of one, the least Deformity happening to any of the others, will cause more Grief, than all the Towardliness of the most Perfect can out-talk

16. Our Beldam *Eve*, to save her longing, sold us all for an Apple; and still as we fall into the same desires, *apprehending felicities in things we never tried*, we are carried away by her peevish *Daughters*, the true *Syrens* wife *Ulysses* stopt his Ears against, who under Pretence of Pleasure and Love, lead us into Dens and obscure Holes of the Rocks, where we consume our precious Time and bury our Parts, (which, might enable us to Despise or Honour this World as best suited our Complexions) feeding, all our Lives, upon the dry Bones of Want and Affliction, and like *Atton*,  
torn



torn by our Families: Nothing being more certain, than that a *married Man* changeth the Shape of Natural Freedom, and inroles himself among such as are rendred Beasts of Burthen under Reason of State; whereas those unclog'd with this Yoke, if they like not the Service and Discipline of their own, may the easier exchange it for that of any other Commonwealth.

17. Tho' nothing can wholly disengage *Marriage* from such *Inconveniencies*, as may obstruct Felicity, yet they are best palliated under a *great Estate*; all other Arguments for it receiving commonly Confutation from Time and Experience, or are evaporated by Fruition; *Birth* imposing a Necessity of Charge, as *Beauty* doth of Jealousie, if not of a bad Report; Innocency being often found too weak to guard it self from the Poyson of Tongues.

18. The true extent of *her Estate* therefore is first to be surveyed, before you entail your self upon the Owner: And, in this common Fame is not to be trusted, which for the most part dilates a *Portion* or *Joyn-ture* beyond its natural Bounds, proving also not seldom litigious, and *that found given by Will*, questionable; by which Husbands are tied to a Black-Box, more miserable than that of *Pandora*; there being in the Law hope of nothing but Trouble and Injustice. Neither do *Widows* seldom put their *Estates* out of their own Reach, the better to cheat their Husbands, perverting so far the course of Nature, as to make him thrash for a Pension, who ought to Command all. This requires *Love* to be ushered into his undissolvable Noose, by Discretion, since it hath rarely fallen within the compass of Example, that both Parties (if wise) should be cordially pleased with their bargain: Therefore the *Yoke* of *Marriage* had need be lined with the richest stuff, and softest outward conveniencies, else it will gall your Neck and Heart, so, as you shall take little comfort in the Vertue, Beauty, Birth, &c. of her to whom you are coupled,



II.

19. As the fertility of the ensuing year is guessed at, by the height of the River *Nilus*, so by the greatness of a *Wives Portion* may much of the future conjugal Happiness be calculated: For, to say truth, a poor Marriage, like a Father's Theft or Treason, entails shame and misery upon Posterity, who receive little warmth from the Virtue, much less from the Beauty of their Mother.

The best of Husbands are Servants, but he that takes a Wife wanting *Money*, is a slave to his Affection, doing the basest of Drudgeries without wages. Experience cries in the Streets that he who takes his *Maid* into the Marriage bed, finds her no less imperious a Mistress, than he that is coupled in the highest Link. For such as bring nothing, esteem themselves slighted, if they command not all; whereas better Educations are apter to confess an Obligation, than those basely born.

20. Yet take one who thinks herself rather beneath than above you in Birth: since *Honourable Persons*, as is reported of *Eagles Feathers*, in a Bed, consume all not of the same plume: *Riches* were in a like predicament, in relation to *Pride*, but easier passed by, because best able to bear the charges of her own Folly; whereas *Lean Honour*, like *Pharaoh's Kine*, devours the Gentry with whom they match, by multiplying the quantity of their Expences.

21. I confess *Vast Estates* are not so sensible of the Inconveniences of poor Marriages; as having, besides greater Diversions, the staff of Power to keep the lean Wolf from the Door: *Want* being no less the original of most Sins, than the Mother of all Plagues; so as the depth of *Poverty* calling upon the bottomless Pit of *Despair*, tempts the ill-bred Son, for want of better education (to change a Life, he thinks cannot be made more wretched) to Marry the Chamber-Maid; by which the no less unadvised Daughter learns to run away with the Groom. Do not the careful Looks of all Fathers give evidence to the truth of that saying,

Children

*Children are uncertain Comforts, but certain Troubles.*

22. Therefore (*dear Son*) if you find your self smitten with this Poysoned Dart, imitate his Prudence, who chose rather to cast himself into the Arms of the Sea, and Travel, than to let his Hopes and Parts wither in those of a poor whining *Dido*, who is no more able to give you Caution, for the continuance of her own Affection, than you are of yours, or of her Beauty.

23. I have heard a *well-built Woman* compared, in her motion, to a Ship under Sail; yet I would advise no wise man to be her Owner, if her Fraught be nothing but what she carries between Wind and Water.

A *neat Wench*, like a fair Picture, may adorn a Room for a General Commerce, or like a painted Inn-post, may tempt you as a Stranger, to while away some scorching hours; but to hang her in your Heart, and turn Host to a bare Holly-Bush, is so high a Blasphemy against Discretion, that it would not only exceed repentance, but pity and forgiveness, especially in relation to you, who have had these Rocks marked out on all sides, by the Advice or Splinters of an indulgent Father.

24. But if once you render your self a Pupil to whining *Love*, he will read you such contrary Politicks, as shall perswade you to make a League with Misery, and embrace Beggery for a Friend; and after this, you are capable of no higher Honour, than to be Registred in one of his Martyrological Ballads, and sung by Dairy Maids to a pitiful Tune.

25. To conclude, if you will needs be a Familist, and *Marry*, muster not the *want of Issue* among your greatest afflictions, as those do, that cry, *Give me Children, or else my Name dies*; the poorest way of Immortalizing that can be, and as natural to a Cobler as a Prince, and not seldom out-reacht by a Grave-stone: This proves them no Fools that make their own choice, by *Adoption*, out of the Mass of Humanity,

II.

nity, not confining themselves to such as the doubtful Chance of *Marriage* obliged them to; since *Wives* do worse than miscarry, that go their full time of a Fool with a bossive Birth; yet less Uglinefs resides in the greatest personl Deformity, than in an ordinary Mulct of the Mind; nor can there be a greater dissemblance between one wise man and another, tho strangers in blood, than daily falls out betwixt them and their own Issue; so as it is rarely observed, that a Prudent Father begets a like Son; in which, Nature proclaims, Things of Moment not made for *Stallions*, and to bury their rich Talents in the tedious Commerce and loathsom sheets of a silly Woman. And if we consult right Reason, not Opinion, more of our Blood runs in a Brother than a Child; the surer side being always a stranger to the Family; the truth is, they are really no more ours, than the curles of our Hair, or the parings of our Nails, carrying often such thought towards us, as we should detest any for, but them; made ours rather by Use than Nature, as appears in the rest of God's Creatures, who look no longer after their young, than whilst they are unable to shift for themselves: This also speaks an immoderate Sorrow for their Loss, as impertinent, as the like Desire to procure them; none being truly capable of Felicity, that situate it out of the Extent of their own Reach, or are over-passionately affected with other Foreign Misery, than what doth purely belong to themselves.

26. But if this savours too much of the *Stoick*, you may qualifie it as you please; for I doubt not, but the Zeal your *Youth* doth yet retain towards the Creed and Practice of others (possibly not so well taught) may at present make much of *This* look like *Blasphemy*; But when so many Winters have snowed on your Head, as on your Fathers, you will think it *Canonical*, and fit to be read to *Posterity*.

To



## To the Women Readers, concerning the foregoing Discourse of Love and Marriage.

**T**HO' the multitude, that Croud of Errour and Mistakes, like Corn, hang their Ears, and situate their Judgments, not according to the constant Aspect of Reason, but the mutable and senseless Inspiration of Fools and Criticks, commolny their Nurses, and according to whose Dialect this childish Monster is taught to prate; yet I did not apprehend it so deaf to its own interest, and the pitiful Voice of woful Experience, as to imagine any thing, looking like a Mote in the Felicity of a Married Man, which becomes not a Beam in the more tender Eye of a Wife; to whom the Cruelty of a Tyrannical Custom hath allotted the heaviest, and most uneasy end of the Chain: Thought by me sufficiently intimated in that Epistle, set on purpose (in the former Editions) before this Section of Love and Marriage, to stay the Reader from any Misprision, the drowsiest Ignorance could lead him into, for want of that Counterpain relating to Women; looked upon, at that time, as impertinent to insert, the Party I then laboured for to Arm, being a Son.

Therefore I hope I shall not need to implore all the Candor attending your other Excellencies, whose smallest Skirt will be sufficient to cover me from the Strife of Tongues, voicing this a new-caught-up Opinion, or, that I detest more, a base Recantation; by which I should foully betray a Heart no less ready to be your Foot-stool in Age, than it was one of your Triumphant Chariots during Youth: This being meerly intended to stay the loose Rabble from dropping into any further prejudice of my Innocency, by an equal ballancing of the Accounts of Marriage; seldom reaching the Content of both, especially where the Groom is wholly led in by Love, and the Bride hath nothing more permanent to accompany her, than Beauty and Youth.

For



For if the Master of the Cabin finds a Bedfellow with her Concomitance, not only troublesom to stow, but an impediment inconsistent with his own Safety, during such a rough Storm of Intestine War, as my Quill was tossed in when first laden with this Advice, His Mate cannot in ordinary Discretion, be imagined to lie easie, who besides her own particular Grievances, hath his Dangers also to affright her; and by burying the Regency of a Mistress in the Vassalage of Marriage, doth not only grow less in the former Esteem her Husband had of her, whilst he lay under the strongest Incantation of an unsatisfied Desire, but ventures the forfeiture of that Ancient Charter, by which Free Beauty is allowed a Passport through all Nations where Civility or Honour Commands: Rendering her self in all Distempered Times (where single she might remain in a harmless Neutrality) obnoxious to an ill Treatment from the contrary Party to that her Owners Fortune, Folly or Friendship hath contracted him to.

Thus, like the Angels sent to the rescue of Lot, Women do not only run the Hazard of their own Contamination by Marriage, to draw Men out of the Sins, no less than Punishments impending the Barren and Unnatural Delights of Solitude, but alter their Shapes, and embase their Celestial Beauties, when by discharging their Husbands of the Venom of Love, they swell themselves into the Bulk and Dangers of Childbearing; losing their own Name and their Families, to perpetuate that of a meer Stranger: And besides all this, they, in their highest Ruff, can be looked upon but as the best of Servants; having nothing theirs, in a more proper Sense, than a Child hath, whose Father allows him to call any thing His, tho' without Leave he may not dispose of the smallest part. Nor, in case of Melancholy Discontent, (not seldom haunting every Corner of their Family, which Women are tyed to Cure, or keep Company with) can they find such ready and safe Diversions, as the Ways of Men are in all places strewn withal; who being freer from Fear or Shame (shackles which Mens own Law and Custom, not Nature or Justice hath cast in the way of the Wives Felicity) they meet such Content abroad,

as

as is with-held from your Sex under the Key of Conscience, or covered from your Desires by the Veil of Modesty, or not impossibly laid beyond Reach, for want of so easie Steps of Opportunity.

Yet besides these visible Disadvantages, Married Women lye under a number that deserve the Name of corroding Plagues, which the severity of their Modesty, by Custom made Natural, forbids them to reveal, and against whose Tyrannical Jurisdiction they may be thought to Rebel, that should endeavour to muster them up: For in a small time the Patient obtains his Cure, and the Physitian becomes affected with the same Desires, Fruition hath discharged the Husband of; who doth consider his own remedy as a Drug easily matched, if not exceeded, by such as may be found under every Hedge; laying it aside, like a perfumed Glove, with whose sweetness his Senses are so sated by Use, as he can apprehend little Delight in it; tho' Strangers, whose Eyes are not bleared by Fruition, look upon her as the Sun, which retains the same Splendor she had at first, not being Eclipsed so much from any Defect of Nature in it self, as by the Clouds arising in the Husband's Fancy, from a daily Commerce; through which, tho' his Love be diminished, the Wives is increased, if not from Affection, yet by an Imposition of Necessity; Men being to be numbred among such Diseases, as are sometime continued with a less train of inconveniencies than parted withal. Whereas if that Sweet Sex remained still in the State of Innocency, not contemplating any other Perfections but their own, they might be adored for Beauty during Youth, and revered for Virtue in Age: And by putting this restraint upon the Felicity of Men, bring them to an Honourable Composition, as the Sabine-Ladies did the Romans.

To conclude, if Men, the most absolute Masters of their Choice and Employments, find occasion of Discontent, under this undissolvable Conjunction, who can value Womans disadvantage, whose Actions, no less than their intrinsecal Desires must be subject to, and wait the leisure of their Husbands?

ADVICE

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# ADVICE to a SON.

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## III. Travel.

**S**OME to starch a more serious face upon wanton, impertinent, and dear-bought Vanity, cry up *Travel*, as *the best Accomplisher of Youth and Gentry*, tho' detected by Experience in the generality, for *the greatest Debaucher*; adding Affectation to Folly, and Atheism to the Curiosity of many not well principled by Education: Such Wanderers imitating those Factors of Solomon, that together with Gold, returned Apes and Peacocks.

They, and only they, *advantage* themselves by *Travel*, who, well fraught with the Experience of what their own Country affords, carry over with them large and thriving Talents, as those Servants did, commended by our Saviour: For he that hath nothing to venture but poor, despicable and solitary Parts, may be so far from Improvement, as he hazards quite to lose and bury them in the external *Levity of France*, *Pride of Spain*, and *Treachery of Italy*; because not being able to take acquaintance abroad of more Prudence, than he meets with in the Streets and other publick Places, the activity of his Legs and Arms may possibly be augmented, and he, by tedious Compliments, become more acceptable in the eyes of silly Women, but useless, if not pernicious, to the Government of his own County, in creating doubts and illikes by way of a partial Comparison.

2. Yet since it *advanceth Opinion in the World*, without which Desert is useful to none but it self (Scholars

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and



and Travellers being cried up for the highest Graduates in the most universal Judgments) I am not much unwilling to give way to Peregrine motion for a time; Provided it be in *Company of an Ambassador, or Person of Quality*; by whose power the Danger may be rebated, no less than your Charge of Diet defrayed; inconsiderable in such a Retinue, as Persons of their Magnitude are forced to entertain.

3. Or if your Genius (tempted by Profit) incline to the life of a *Merchant*, you have the Law of Nations, and Articles of a reciprocal Amity to protect you from other inconveniencies, than such as indiscretion draws upon rash and unadvised Strangers.

And thus mann'd out, Your Experience may receive Lading at the first hand, when others, failing of the like Advantages, must take up that little they make, at the common Beam; yet pay more Custom, and run greater hazards than the whole Return, when cast up, is able to compensate,

4. Or in case this Nation should again break out into *Partialities* it may not be ill prudence, to go where you may have the prospect of the *War* with safety, whoever prevail: And for the Place, I say *France*, if you have a Purse; else some Town in the *Netherlands* or *Flanders*, that is wholesom and safe; where *French* may be attained with little more difficulty than at *Paris*; neither are the Humors of the People so very remote from your own.

Now if it be your Fortune, on any such like Accounts to leave your native Country, take these *Directions* from a *Father*, wearied (and therefore possibly made wiser) by *Experience*.

5. Let not the Irreligion of any Place breed in you a neglect of *Divine Duties*; Remembring, God hears the Prayers of *Daniel* in *Babylon*, with the same Attention he gave to *David* in *Sion*.

6. Shun all *Disputes*, but concerning *Religion* especially; because that which Commands in chief, tho' Fall



and erroneous, will, like a Cock on's own Dunghil, line her Arguments with force, and drive the Stranger out of the Pit with insignificant Clamours. All Opinions, not made Natural by Complexion, or imperious Education, being equally ridiculous to those of contrary Tenets.

But where you find such Discourse, unavoidably obtruded, mould your Arguments rather into Queries, than dogmatical Assertions; professing it *more the business of Travellers, to Learn than Teach*: This, besides the removal of Jealousies, will proclaim you Civil, and not bury the hope of a future Compliance; muzzling the mouths of the rigid Zelots (who think none worthy of Life, found out of the Train of their own Opinions) no less than engaging the more moderate, rather to pity you, as one misled, than accuse you for wilful and contumacious: Observing herein *the Prudence of our Saviour*, who prohibits the casting of Pearls before such, as are more likely to employ them to your Damage, than their own Edification: And therefore Silence ought not in Reason to be reckon'd for a desertion of Truth, where it cannot be maintained, but to the prejudice of what the Imperative Power hath declared so to be.

A *Sceptick humour*, as it is most sutable to any *Man* out of Power, so especially if he Travels; less offence being taken at *Doubters*, than such as boldly undertake to Determine; there not always remaining a necessity, either in Religion or Discretion, to give a *positive Answer*; as appears by *Christ*, who *did not seldom oppose one ambiguous Question against another no less dangerous to resolve*: Therefore you may be as well a Murderer as a Martyr, if you run unadvisedly into Ruin.

7. Keep your *Zeal* chain'd for a Guard to your Conscience, not letting it fly upon such things as Custom hath not made it familiar withal, (Remembring, that the *Sadducees*, who denied Angels and Spirits, are not Registred for such implacable Enemies to our Saviour,

as the *Pharisees*, who confessed both: ) The fury of which Passion hath transported some so far, as to strike the *Eucharist* out of the Priests hands, that carried it, choosing, like giddy *Phaetons*, to burn, rather than not manifest themselves (unseasonably) the Children of God.

8. Do not imitate their follies, who conceit themselves bound in Honour to *assert* all *Customs* used in the Places they come from; which, besides contraction of Quarrels, brands such Sophisters with the imputation of a partial Incivility: *Custom* being of that insinuating nature, as it can convert into the shape of Comeliness, Diet, Apparel, Gestures, Opinions and Sins, that to a Stranger, may appear most distastful, ugly, uncouth and unnatural: This renders a Defence of the Errors of your own Country as undecent, as the too loud proclaiming of them is shameful and unworthy.

As it is neither mannerly nor safe to *discommend* any thing used abroad, so likewise is it disadvantageous; for by *Commendation* you shall the better scrue out the true Opinion themselves have of it, which upon your *dislike* will be concealed, or heightned, out of shame, or ostentation.

9. Fall not into *Comparisons*; For what doth it concern the advancement of Wisdom, whether *London*, or *Paris*, St. *Mark's* Church or *Paul's* be the fairest. The like modesty must be observed at your return home; lest you should seem to have lost, in your *Travel* through other Nations, the Natural Affection so justly due to your Own; which may raise suspicion of a change, either in your Religion or Allegiance.

10. *Condemn* none with too much *severity*, you find in never so palpable an *Error of Judgment* or *Manners*, (which for the most part are meerly respective to Time and Place) lest you should bait a Trap with a Precedent strong enough one day, to catch your self: All things we stile *Sin*, lying in the bowels of Men, as Metals do in the Earth, under an equal party, till  
Policy,

*Policy*, for the benefit of Commerce, stamps them with the Image of the *Devil*, and on their Reverse, *Punishment* and *Shame*: No more proper to them by Nature, than for Gold or Silver to bear the Impress and Superscription of a Prince, before it be Coined, and made Current, or Prohibited by *Law*, the *Master of the Mint*, in relation to *Good* and *Evil*.

Tho' it may suit no less with your Years, than mine that advise you, to follow such *fashions in Apparel*, as are in use as well at home as abroad, those being least gazed on that go as most men do; yet it cannot be justified before the face of Discretion, or the Charity due to your own Country-men, to esteem no *Doublet* well made, nor *Glove* worth wearing, that hath not passed the hands of a *French Taylor*, or retains not the Scent of a *Spanish Perfumer*. A Vanity found incident to *England*, and the People, our ordinary account reckons *East* of us: A strong presumption, the last arrived within the Pale of Civility, else they would be more confident of their own *Inventions*, had they not still fresh in Memory, from whence they derived the Arts of *Building*, *Cloaths*, *Behaviour*, &c. A Fancy, tho' foolish, yet easier excused, did not ascend to the more rare, and useful *Endowments of the Mind*, so far as to put a miraculous estimation upon the *Writings of Strangers*, and a base Alloy on better of *their own*: Since, upon a strict examination, the moist Heads of these colder Climates may be found to have dropped as pure Reason, as the nearer approach of the Sun was ever yet able to draw from the more tosted Brains of *Spain*, *Italy*, or *France*. Therefore lanch not too suddenly into a rough and deep *Censure* of such *Authors*, as you find go contrary to the high Tide of Opinion for the present, lest compell'd to a Retraction, you confess your self apt to be misled by the common prejudice daily found in the ways of desert: As such must needs be, that would have Casheered *Bacon's Advancement of Learning*, as an Heretical and impertinent piece, but



for an invincible strength of contrary Judgments that came to his Rescue from beyond the Seas: *English* Men bearing a greater Reverence to the *Votes*, and a less prejudice to the *Inventions* of *Strangers*, than their own; else our *Authors* need not to *Travel* for Repute, especially at that time when our *Pulpits*, no less than *Theaters*, condemned of Ignorance all the known World besides. For however it might be with us in the time of *Edward* the fourth, and notwithstanding the Character *Philip de Comines* gives to the bluntness of the *English Pens*, were then no hyperbole, yet now no Reader unmuffled by Malice or Ignorance, but must acknowledge that the late King did not only in that vanquish all near his Rank, that almost ever went before him: But hath left many, tho' short of his parts, very well able to grapple with the choicest of other Princes Subjects.

11. If the Wisdom of the *States of Holland* were warily observed (who give no other answer for the present, to any new Proposition, but *Pent-estre*, in *English*, *It may be so*; by which means they civilly evade a peremptory asserting or denying the validity of any Argument.) The Hell of the *Inquisition* would not be so replenished with the Souls of poor unadvised Christians; who, made giddy with an impertinent Zeal, and confident in the Promises of the treacherous Jesuits their Country-Men (that have ways enough to betray you, without discovering themselves) communicate to them *prohibited Books*, in Hope to Convert them (which I advise you by no means to carry with you:) This *M. Mole* found true in a tedious and sharp Captivity, reported to be betrayed by Sir *T. M.* at the Instigation of the Lord *R.* to whom he was assigned Tutor, by the Earl of *Ex.*

12. To the *Encharist*, met in the Streets, (through which it is often born to the Houses of the Sick,) Custom, no less than the Injunction of the Magistrate, obligeth all to kneel or bow: The which is if a Stranger neglects,



neglects, he is liable to the Inquisitors: Now if it be an Idol, St. Paul saith *an Idol is nothing*; and if it renders the Meat Offered unto it no ways distastful to a sound Conscience, how should it deprave me to be uncovered, as the rest are? It being palliated, if not absolutely decided this way, in case of *Naman*, and the Duke of *Saxony*; whom *Luther* permitted to assist the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth at a Mass, only to Preserve a Temporal Dignity, covering it with the Title of Civil respect.

13. Pity, rather than spurn at those you see prostrate before a *Crucifix*; considering we find it enjoined, by the Penner of the *Practice of Piety* (too often Printed, to carry the Marks of any thing contrary to the genuine Mind of the *Protestant Church*) that *all Communicants at the Article of their Receiving, should imagine the Posture of Christ upon the Cross*. And if so, doth it not leave room for a Query, who is the most mistaken, he that makes to himself a Representation in his Heart, or on the Wall? Yet this, with the rest, is laid before you only as an Adviso, not a Stumbling-Block, and Occasion of Offence.

14. Enter no farther into *Foreign Churches* than the hand of your own Religion and Conscience leads you: For, tho' the Body of their *Worship* do not take you, the higher expressions of *Zeal* and *Austerity* (in the preciser sort of Church-men, and People, taken for the Soul of all Professions) may seem to discover some defects in your own; and so, displeased on all sides, you dash upon the Rock of *Atheism*; as such do, that value the Merits and Sanctity of Christ, by His, who pretends to be his Vicar; and all Moral Virtue by the scant Standard, they find it measured by at *Rome*, where they put out the Eyes of the less advised with the dust of *Antiquity*, which we seeming to want, are not so catching to those, not wise enough to look behind the Curtain of *Formalities*.

Yet where Conscience and Reason give you leave to comply (as possibly they may in many things) do it ingenuously, without compulsion or dint of an Argument; lest, opposing a Truth upon the By, you give them Cause to think you guilty of Falshood in the Main.

15. Confort with none who *Scoff* at their own Religion, but shun them as Spies or Atheists; for Strangers honour them most, next to those of their respective Tenents, that are Modstly zealous in the observation of their own.

16. Eschew the company of all English you find in Orders; for as they have imitated the lapsed Angels, in falling from their first Station, so they bear the like malevolence to all they despair of bringing into the same Condemnation; being for the most part despicable, poor and melancholy; the Protestants eying them as Apostates, and the Catholics as Fugitives and unprofitable devourers of the Natives Bread. Thus young Scholars, because not able to reach all they desire at Home, like Prodigals abandon the bosom of their Mother, unadvisedly casting themselves into that of want and reproach; Viscount Mont's Brother being but a Porter to a Religious House, and many of the rest exposed to such hard and desperate Missions into the Indies and other remote Climates, as their Lives are rendered no less tedious than uncertain.

17. Besides he that beyond Sea frequents his own Countrymen, forgets the principal part of his Errand, Language; and possibly the opportunity to get Experience how to manage his Expence; Frugality being of none so perfectly learned, as of the Italian and Scot; Natural to the first, and as necessary to the latter. The English also are observed abroad more quarrellsom with their own Nation than Strangers, and therefore marked out as the most dangerous Companions.

18. An Injury in Foreign Air is cheaper passed over than revenged, the endeavour of which hath (not seldom)

dom) drawn on a greater: Besides, If Patience and Evasion be not learned by your *Travel*, the Bills you have taken up may perhaps be discharged, as to the Merchant, but quite lost in regard of any return of Profit to such inconsiderate men, as suffer themselves to be transported with their Passions; since he that is Master of them, shall act and speak Reason, when others, destitute of that Moderation, appear mad, uttering nothing but Noise.

19. *Play* is destructive and fatal to Estates every where, but to the Persons of Gamesters abroad, rendering them the Objects of Cheating and Quarrels; all By-standers being apt to attest to the prejudice of a Stranger.

20. He that desires Quiet, and to decline Quarrels, (undertaken by Strangers upon irreparable disadvantage) must above all, avoid giving or receiving *Favours from Women*; there being none out the List of common Whores, any way acceptable, to which some Ruffian (in *Italy* call'd *Braves*, who will murder a Man for a Crown) doth not pretend an interest, either as a Husband, a Kinsman, or a Servant: Neither are they safely conversed withal, in relation to Health; participating so far of the Nature of Devils, that they are not only instrumental in the Sin, but many times also in the Punishment.

Make not the *Promise of Marriage* a Baud to your *Lust*, nor think her Fruit worth owning, shall yield possession upon no more formal Obligation; presuming then if she can dispence with the Ceremony, by which Law only makes her yours, it is no less possible, that time and the wearisom repetition of the same embraces may upon as handsom a provocation, tempt her to change the Substance.

He that owns a *Whore* in a more peculiar sense than a common Jakes, descends from the dignity of Reason: And yet I have known some so far transported as to marry such an one, to the infamy of their Families, no less



less than their own future discontent ; making a *mercenary Woman* Arbitrator and Guardian of their Issue ; contrary to the wiser practice of *Spain*, where none are admitted Judges of anothers Interest, that have taken Fees as Pleaders themselves, lest former Usage should convert them into Bribes ; it being hard to forego a profitable Custom, and as impossible to impropriate such Cattle as to monopolize the Air ; for the Bar of Honour being once leaped over by that Sex, there remains nothing certain to the owner, but the open Fields of Shame and Repentance.

21. If tempted by an *impatient Affection* to any thing not without danger or difficulty attained, Catechize your self with this Question, what Wish, Fortune or Labour presented you with, that after a full Fruition did not soon grow tedious, or, at best came not far short of what creaking expectation had undertaken should perform ? And let this Contemplation moderate your desires, That all worldly Profit or Pleasure be correspondent to a like measure of anxiety and wearisomness ; therefore let no importunity warp you contrary to right Reason and Conveniency, ever arming your Constancy against Flattery and Impudence, strong Assailants, especially marching under the Tears and Carresses of a handsom and seeming innocent *Woman*, from whom it is no dishonour to fly, and with whom there is no safety to treat, for fear, like blind *Samson*, you grind out the remainder of your days, between Want and Repentance, and be led in Triumph by her Friends, and those suborned to seduce you, more ready to sacrifice the thanks to their own Nets, than to the Easiness of your Nature, to which it is only due.

If any then be furiously *enamoured on you*, whose Fortune cannot correspond for the Troubles incident to *Marriage* (which God knows are not a few) venture the loss of her, rather than your self ; it being one of the highest pieces of Madness, to hang an indissoluble Padlock upon your future hopes, only to save a *Wench* from Longing ;

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*Longing*; with whose soft humour miscarriage is more suitable, than a Man's armed with so much Advice: Therefore fly from such as incurable Plagues, nothing being more catching to unbyassed Nature, than a seeming violent Affection; which if not built upon a former promise, you may leave her justly to the melancholy Society of her own folly; out of which it is all odds but she may happily recover, or imitate the voluptuous Death of that Taylor reported to have whined away himself for the Love of Queen *Elizabeth*.

22. Who Travels *Italy*, handsom, young and beardless, may need as much caution and circumspection, to protect him from the *Lust of Men*, as the *Charms of Women*: An Impiety not to be credited by an honest Heart, did not the Ruins of *Sodom*, calcin'd by this unnatural Heat, remain still to witness it. And as I have heard, they continue so enamoured to this uncouth way of Lust, (led by what imaginary delight I know not) that such as Age and Weakness have set beyond the Power of Acting, suffer themselves to be Patients in that noisom Bestiality; maintaining to this End Emissaries abroad, to entice men of delicate Complexions, to the Houses of these decrepit Lechers; under pretence of an Assignment made by some Feminine Beauty; and thus ensnared, the poor uncircumspect young Man cannot with Conscience do, or safety refuse this base Office.

23. Where you never mean to return, extend your *Liberality* at the first coming, as you see convenient, during your aboads; for what you give at parting is quite lost.

24. Make no Ostentation of *carrying* any considerable Sum of *Money about you*; lest you turn that to your Destruction, which under God is a Strangers best Preservation: And *Remove* not from Place to Place, but with Company you know: The not observing whereof is the Cause so many of our Countrymens Graves were never known; having been buried in as much Obscurity as kill'd.

25. *Inns*

25. *Inns* are dangerous, and so are all *fresh Acquaintance*, especially where you find their offer of Friendship to out-bid a Strangers Desert: The same may be said of *Servants*; not to be entertained upon ordinary Commendations.

26. Next to Experience, *Languages* are the Richest Lading of a Traveller; among which *French* is most useful, *Italian* and *Spanish* not being so fruitful in Learning, (except for the Mathematicks and Romanes) their other Books being gelt by the Fathers of the Inquisition.

27. He that is carried by his Curiosity under the Jurisdiction of the *Turk*, or other *Mahumetan* Princes, shall be used (as they esteem him) like a Dog; and so to be armed with a more invincible Patience, than commonly accompanies a Man free-born; insomuch as a I heard a Kinsman say, who had been a *Jerusalem*, That the richest Experience he brought from thence, could not in the least Proportion recompence the Trouble he met with, bringing Home certain Marks of the Incivility of the People, for an uncertain Discovery of the Places fam'd for *Christ's* Death and Burial: And tho' he thought he merited by it (a Conceit I know incapable of Place in your Head) yet no Reward could hire him to repeat again those weary Steps: Therefore I advise you to believe rather what you may read in your Study, than go thither to disprove it.

28. I can say little of *Plantations*, having had no Experience of them: But that he, which changeth his own Country, shall not, in my Mind, do so well, to go farther from the Sun, or where he may not at least share in the Government.

ADVICE

# ADVICE to a SON.

## IV. Government.

I. **C**ontract not the common distemper, incident to vulgar Brains, who still imagine more ease from some *untried Government*, than that they lie under; not having passed the first Form of Experience, where we may learn, that *Tyranny is no less Natural to power, than lust to Youth.*

If happy for the present, 'tis no better than madness to endeavour a *Change*; if but indifferently well, folly: For tho' a Vessel may yield the more for tilting or stirring, it renders all in it unpleasant to the present use: The Die of *War* seldom turning to their advantage, that first cast it; such therefore as cannot make all well, discharge their Conscience in wishing it so; Government being the care of Providence, not mine. But if it be your Fortune to fall under such *Commotions*, imitate not the wild *Irish* or *Welch*, who during Eclipses, run about beating kettles and pans, thinking their clamour and vexations available to the assistance of the higher Orbs, tho' they advance nothing but their own miseries, being often maimed, but at best laied by, without respect or reward, so soon as the State is returned to it's former splendor: Common Souldiers resembling Cocks, that fight for the benefit and ambition of others, more than their own: This proves it the wholsomer Counsel, to stay within Doors, and avoid such malignant Affects, as People attribute to the supposed Distempers of the Superior Planets. But if forced to take a Stream, let it be  
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that which leads to the Desires of the *Metropolis*, the chief City being for the most part preserved, whatever Prevails, in a Civil Commotion, abounding in Money and Friends, the readiest Commodities to purchase Quiet.

2. Be not the *Pen or Mouth of a Multitude* congregated by the gingling of their Fetters; lest a Pardon or a Compliance knock them off, and leave you as the Soul of that Deformed Body, hanging in the Hell of the Law, or to the Vengeance of an exasperated Power; but rather have Patience, and see the Tree sufficiently shaken, before you run to scramble for the Fruit; lest Instead of Profit and Honour, you meet with a Cudgel or a Stone; and then (if possible) seem to fall in, rather out of Compulsion, than Design: Since the Zeal of the Rabble is not so soon heated by the real Oppressions of their Rulers, but may be easily cooled by the Specious Promises and Breaches of Authority. Wherefore nurse not *Ambition* with your own Blood, nor think the Wind of Honour strong enough to blow away the reproachful Sense of a shameful, if possibly that of a violent Death; for if Solomon's Rule be true, That a *Living Dog is better than a Dead Lion*, a quick Evasion cannot but be deemed more Man-like than a buried Valour.

3. A *Multitude* inflamed under a *Religious Pretence* are at first as unsafely opposed, as joyned with; resembling Bears exasperated by the Cry of their Whelps, and do not seldom, if unextinguished by Hope or Delays, consume all before them, to the very thing they intend to preserve: Zeal, like the Rod of *Moses*, devouring all for Diabolical, that dares but appear before it in the same Shape: The inconsiderate Rabble, with the Swine in the Gospel, being more furiously agitated by the discontented Spirits of others, than their own; who cannot be so happy in a Sea of Blood and Devastation, the dire effects of War, as in Peace, tho' invaded with some Oppression; a Scab

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that breaks out oftentimes in the most wholsom constituted Bodies of States, and may with less smart be continued on, than picked off. And because the generality are incapable, in regard of number, either of reward, or punishment, therefore not of use to the Ambition or Safety of others, but for the present, like Gun-Powder during the flash of their discontent, and as a Lock in a River, are only of force upon the first opening to drive on the design of Innovation; losing themselves afterwards in a more universal dilatation, either out of weariness, or doubt of the consequence.

4. The Example of *Brutus*, rather than *Cato*, is to be followed in *bad times*; it being safer to be patient, than active, or appear a Fool, than a Malecontent: An Evasion not only justified in the Person of *David*, and by the Eloquence of *Paul* before his Heathen Judges, but our Saviour himself is not heard to inveigh against the present *Power*, tho' it had made the Head of the *Baptist* the Frolick to a Feast.

Own the *Power*, but not the *Fault* of the *Magistrate*; nor make *Law*, assigned for a Buckler to defend your self, a Sword to hurt others; lest Partiality should allure you to pass the Sentence of Approbation upon any thing unwarrantable in its own Nature. Neither let any Formalities used at a mimical Tribunal (as that was, set up in the case of *Naboth*) perswade you to more than a passive compliance: Since such may seem to make greater, rather than diminish the wages of their iniquity, that seek to cover Rapine with a Gown; which the Sword might patronize with more decency: And this observed, the People might cheaper receive all their Injury at the first hand, which these Retailers of wickedness utter at more intolerable rates: The result of all is, *Ahab* might better have committed Murther single, than render so many Accessary, under the formal pretence of a Religious Fast, &c.

5. Before

5. *Before you fix*, Consult all the Objections Discretion is able to make; but *once resolved*, desert not your Party upon Access of a Fever, as many melancholy Spirits did these Wars; who, by their often and unseasonable flittings, wore themselves so out on both sides, as they were not worth owning, when Success undertook for them, that they did turn in earnest: Irresolution redring Pardon more difficult from either Faction, than it could have proved, had they remained constant to any: Divesting themselves of the Ensigns of *Fidelity*, looked upon by all with the Eyes of pity, and do often meet with Honour, seldom fail of Forgiveness, from a Noble Enemy, who cannot but befriend Virtue, tho' he hath found it in Arms against him. Yet if you perceive the Post you have contracted, to totter, through undermining Treachery or weakness, you may purchase your preservation by all honest endeavours: For he that prolongs his Life by the forfeiture of a *Trust* he has undertaken, Husbands it worse, than if he buried it in the Field of Honour: *Traitors* in all Ages being equally detested on both sides.

6. *Submit quietly to any Power* Providence shall please to mount into the Saddle of Sovereignty, without enquiring into their Right for *Conscience sake*, or their Birth in relation of Honour; Remembring, that not only *David*, but the most famous for Success, did not only cut off others Lines, but were Natural Shepherds under the Cope of Heaven, before they attained to be Metaphorically so under the Canopy of the Chair of State; which once possessed, clarifies the present Incumbent's Title from the greatest imputations incident to Birth or Proceeding. And the many-headed Beast, the Multitude, is seldom more, sometimes less gall'd and vexed by the new, than the old Saddle or Riders: Who, out of their greater Experience of her brutish Patience, are more apt to load her with the the Trappings of Power, and the Furniture

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sutable to a Throne; whose Inventory Pride increaseth proportionable to continuance, and the presumption they have of their own Ability to keep the People from attempting their Remove. This may render it indifferent to a wise Man, what Card is Trump; whose Game may possibly prove as fair under Clubs as Diamonds; neither ought he to be troubled whether his Fetters consist of Many Links, or but One.

7. If Authority exacts an *Acknowledgment* from you, give it with all readiness: It being the highest Frenzy to dispute your Innocency with those able to convert the greatest into a Fault: For, if it be no dishonour to submit to Thieves, if fallen into their Hands; Let not the example of a few Fools (who, like Lice, thrive nowhere so well as in a Prison) tempt you to oppose your Felicity against the Imperative Power, under which the disposure of your Person doth wholly remain, and therefore madness to deny it Words.

I abhor the Idolatry of the Heathen, yet cannot but mind you of their Humility, in adoring any thing the People set up, tho' but hewed out of the Body of an Oak, most auspicious unto Swine, and Principally after shaking by such Storms as Devils are reported to have raised: Therefore if you may enjoy the Liberty of your own Conscience and Estate, question not the Desert or Right of those, under whom you do it.

8. He that suffers his *Conscience* to mislead him in civil Obedience, makes his Guide a Stumbling-block; not considering that *All Governments now extant had their foundations laid in the dirt*, tho' time may have dried it up by Oblivion, or flattering Historians licked it off.

Think it no disparagement to your Birth or Discretion, to give Honour to *fresh Families* who cannot be denied to have ascended by the same steps, those did we stile *Ancient*: *New* being a Term only respecting Us, not the World: For what is, was before Us,



and will be when we are no more : War follows Peace, and Peace War, as Summer doth Winter, and Foul Weather Fair: Neither are any Ground more in this Mill of Vicissitudes, than such *obstinate Fools* as glory in the Repute of *State-Martyrs* after they are Dead; which concerns them less than what was said 100 Years before they were Born: It being the greatest odds, Their Names shall not be Registred, or if they be, after Death they are no more sensible of the Honour, than *Alexander's* great Horse, or any Beast else, his Masters Indulgence or the Writers, are pleased to Record. Neither in a strict Sense, do they deserve such Honour, for being able to date their Possessions from before the *Conquest*; Since if any be due, it wholly belongs to them that were Buried in the Ruins of their Countries Liberty, and not to such as help'd to make their Graves, as in all likelihood most did whom the *Normans* suffered to remain. Therefore 'tis madness to place our felicity out of our own reach, or to measure Honour or Repute by any other Standard than the Opinion we conceive of in our selves: It being impossible to find a general agreement in any good or evil Report; The Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* being no less traduced, than that of *Richard* the Third is justified.

Be not therefore liquorish after *Fame*, found by Experience to carry a Trumpet, that doth for the most part congregate more Enemies than Friends.

If you duly consider the *Inconstancy* of *Common Applause*; and how many have had their *Fame* broken upon the same Wheel that raised it, and puffed out by their Breath that kindled the first Report of it, you would be as little elevated with the Smiles, as dejected by the Frowns of this gawdy Goddess, formed like *Venus*, out of no more solid Matter than the Foam of the People, found by Experience to have Poysoned more than ever she cured; being so volatile, as she is unable of Fixation in the richest Jewels of

Nature,



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Nature, Virtue or Grace : The Composition of that Body wholly consisting of Contradictions, no readier to set up this Day, than she may be to pull down the next : This renders it the lowest Puerility to be pleased or angry at *Reports*; Good being inflamed, and Evil quenched, by nothing sooner than a constant Neglect.

9. *Ostentation of Birth*, at no time decent, cannot in this be Safe, wherein the very Foundations of *Honour* are not only shaken but laid bare : Besides, many are so abused in the Sound of their own, or their Fathers *Tales*, that by bustling for the upper end, they often render that a Shame, which in it self is no Crime : As for example, If the Son of the *Common-Hunt* (in *English*, the Lord Mayors Dog-Keeper) by Reason of the Title of Esquire annex to his Place, should consider himself as a Man of Worship, &c. Were it not Ridiculous ? When, God knows, the Appellation is used for the Honour of the City, not the Person that wears it. The same might be said of all Mechanick Places at Court, which to render them the more vendible, were Blazoned with the false Alchimy of a like Title; so far from advancing Repute, that it sets it back in the Opinion of all Judicious Men : Observe how ridiculous such Animals are, to Pride themselves in the Shadow and Tail of Honour, when the Substance is vanished, and the Head — &c.

10. Despise none for *meanness of Blood*, yet do not ordinarily make them your Companions, for debasing your own ; unless you find them clarified by excellent Parts, or gilded by Fortune or Power : *Solomon* having sent the *Sluggard to the Pismire* to learn Industry, and to the *Living Dog* rather than the *Dead Lyon*, for Protection.

11. It cannot be looked upon as an Act of prudence, to do more for another, than in Reason may be expected from him again upon a like occasion ; unless so far as I am obliged to it out of *Gratitude* : And no farther can

my Prince or any one else expect assistance from me; for if I have not my Livelihood by him, I cannot apprehend any cause why I should expose it for him, especially if I may with any probability be happy and keep it without him. And because most of the first Proprietors of Government, in our days, and long before, have ascended the Throne at the Cost and Trouble, if not contrary to the Mind of the People they Command, why should any lose that for their Preservation, which was never gained by their Benevolence? Therefore if those at the Helm have lost their Power, and I not able to find a particular Engagement or Interest strong enough to make their good Success inseparably necessary to my present or future well-being, I am not bound to go farther on with them, than suits with my safety, and the security my Judgement gives, that they are able to bring me off: All we owe to Governors, is Obedience, which depends wholly on Power, and therefore subject to follow the same Fate and perish with it: For Friendship can be contracted between none that stand so far remote from the Line of Parity: Therefore all Superlative Powers are excepted out of this Commerce, because situated, in truth or pretence, under a Divine Right, which no interest of mine can reach, much less procure; Then, being so far above us, they can be nothing to us, longer than able to support themselves: For if they have an extraordinary and particular Establishment in Heaven, it were Blasphemy to think they can be pulled down by any but God; in the opposition of whose Vengeance I am no more able than willing to stand; as those must that appear unseasonably for them. Besides, Powers are established to protect us, who are to live happy under them, not miserably for them, if possibly to be prevented; since all sorts of Government may be reckoned among the rest of Gods Plagues, poured down upon Men for their oppression and disobedience.

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## IV.

ence, in the Primitive Party ; which makes our Wills, like *Eves*, subject to others.

12. No *Government* can be safely engaged, by a single Person, beyond *Requital*: *Kings* thinking it a diminution of Honour, and *Republicks* a dangerous step to Popularity: Here you may see the continual use of Circumspection, since 'tis possible for Virtue to form a Weapon against it self.

If it be dangerous to *over-oblige* a King, it is mortal in relation to a *Free-State*; whose Ingratitude, no less than Requital, is divided among so many, as they are scarce capable of Shame or Thanks: Every Particular disavowing what is generally thought amiss, and all Faults buried in his Grave, that hath the Fortune to die next. Therefore if possible, avoid *Siding*; yet if Compelled, Remember it is deducible, both from the History of the great Earl of *Warwick* and *Stanly*, That a King may be as safely destroy'd as preserved: And for Common-wealths, they are in nothing more Perfect than Ingratitude: Either Government finding it better Husbandry, to Pardon Enemies, than to Reward Friends.

13. A *Reconciled Enemy* is not safely to be trusted; yet if any, a Great One: It being easier for such to execute their Malice than conceal it.

Imagine few the more capable of *Trust*, because you have formerly obliged them; nothing being more ordinary than Natures that quit such Scores with Hatred and Treachery: And if you consider whose Hearts have been most empty of Pity towards *Unfortunate Princes*, Experience may Present you with Millions of such whose Hands formerly were filled with their Bounty.

Ignorance Reports of Witches, That they are unable to hurt, till they have received an Alms; which tho' ridiculous in it self, yet in this Sense verified; That *Charity* seldom goes to the Gate, but it meets with *Ingratitude*: They proving for the most part the greatest



greatest Enemies, that have been bought at the dearest Rates of Friendship; which proceeds from the high Pride of Humanity: Therefore be as little flattered to do Good out of Hope of Requitall, as I would have you terrified out of Fear of the contrary.

14. Grant, if ever, a *Courtesie* at first asking; for as Expedition doubles a Benefit, so delay converts it into little less than an Injury, and robs you of the Thanks, the Fate of churlish Natures; whereas some, I have known able to apparel their Refusals in such soft Robes of Courtship, that it was not easie to be discerned, whether the Request or Denial were most decent.

Do not hackeny out your *Promise* to the full Stage of Desire; lest tiring in *Performance* and becoming a Bankrupt in Power, you forfeit Repute, and purchase certain Enemies for uncertain Friends. Yet when the *Suffrages* of many, in relation to your particular Profit are to be Purchased, wise Mens Practice hath proved it no indiscretion to be lavish in this kind; where the Dishonour of non-performance with others is quite buried in the greater Benefit accruing to your self; it being as ordinary for Hope to exceed Modesty in asking, as an engaged Power comes short of the Ability, if not the Will to perform: Therefore in this Case you must supply with Thanks, what you are not able to do in Effect.

15. Be not nice in *Assisting*, with the Advantages Nature or Art may have given you, such as want them; who do not seldom in Exchange, part with those of Fortune, to such as can manage their *Advice* well; as they only do, that *never give Counsel till called* nor continue it longer than they find it acceptable.

If one in Power ask your *Advice* in a business of Consequence, it may appear *Rashness*, if not *Folly*, to answer suddenly upon the Place; it not being impossible, but that the design of his *Question* may as well be to try your sufficiency, as to strengthen his own: How-

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ever so much *time* as may be borrowed with safety from the emergency of any occasion, is likelier to encrease than abate the weight of a Result: And in this interim you may gain leisure to discover, what *Resolution* suits best the Mind of the Party, who is commonly gratified most by such as comply nearest with his own Judgment; which 'tis ever Wisdom to observe, where all the *Counsels* given are indifferent. Nor will it favour of so much respect to his Person, or Care of his Affairs, to determine *extempore*, as upon *Premeditation*; it being the *Custom* of great ones to value things, not proportionable to their worth, but the *Sweet and Time* they cost.

16. 'Tis not dutiful nor safe to drive your Prince, by a witty Answer, beyond all possibility of Reply; it being more excusable to appear Rich, than Wise at the prejudice of one in Superlative Power; who have their Ears so continually softened by Flattery, as they easier bear diminution in their Treasure, which they look upon as below and without them, than in *Wit, Handsomeness, Horsemanship, &c.* which their Parasites have long made them believe are inherent in them. This a Carver at Court, formerly in good esteem with King James, found to his prejudice, who being laughed at by him, for saying, *The Wing of a Rabbet*, maintained it as congruous as *the Fore-Leg of a Capon*, a Phrase used in Scotland, and by himself here; which put the King so out of Patience, as he never looked on the Gentleman more. The like I have been told of a Bishop, who being reproved by the same Prince for Preaching against the Papists during the Treaty with Spain, replied, *He could never say more than His Majesty had Writ.* Go thy way, quoth the King, and expect thy next Translation in Heaven, not from Me; meaning, he would never better his See. This Humour makes these Terrestrial Gods more auspicious to Fools, than those Solomon saith, *are able to render a Reason.*

17. It is not safe for a *Secretary* to mend the Copy his Master hath set him, unless owned as from his former Inspirations, lest he should grow jealous that you valued your Conceptions before his; who measures his Sufficiency by the Latitude of his Employment, not the depth of his Natural Parts. This made the Lord Chancellor *Egerton* the willinger to exchange incomparable Doctor *D.* for the less sufficient, tho' in this more modest, Mr. *T. B.*

But in case his Affairs be wholly left to your management, you must not only look to correspond for his Miscarriages, but as obstinately renounce any Honour may be given you, to his Prejudice: Imputing all to his single Sufficiency, your self owning no higher place than that of the Executioner of his Commands. For tho' many great Men, like Properties or Puppets, are managed by their Servants; yet such are most dear to them, as can so carry their hand in their actings, that they make them appear less Fools, than in truth they are; easily done, by giving them the Honour to concede or deny in Publick, without interposing any other Arguments against it than may become the Mouth of a Servant, however you may order him in Private.

18. Write not the Faults of Persons near the Throne, in any Nation you reside in, lest your Letters should be intercepted, and you sent out of the World before your time; but reserve such Discourse for the single Ear of your Master, into which you must pour it with more Caution than Malice, lest it should come to be discovered, as it is odds but it will; and then the next endeavour is Revenge; it being less danger to traduce a King than his Minions. The first still looked upon as above blame, because incapable of Punishment; but the latter are not only Subject to Accusations, but the aggravations of their Enemies; which fills them full of Caution and Prejudice to all they fear are able, or but willing to detect them. I could

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could produce sad Effects that have followed the want of Care in this, but that I intend Advice, not an History.

It is an Office unbecoming a Gentleman to be an *Intelligencer*, which in real truth is no better than a *Spy* (who are often brought to the Torture, and Die miserably, tho' no words are made of it, being a use connived at by all Princes :) To whom I give this Caution, that they stay not after their Patrons are called Home, which do not seldom (in emulation to their Successor, or to gratifie the Prince they have treated withal, and it may be, from whom they have received Presents and high Commendations to their own King) discover all that are employ'd to do him hurt.

Many, by woful experience, have tasted the bitter Consequence of *delivering their single Judgment of Men in Power, or revealing their Miscarriages, when able to produce no stronger proof than their own*; for such do not rarely, out of forgetfulness, or some other more Politick end, add to the *Information*; and so make you in the opinion of others, to Recant, or justifie a Lye. For if it be a *Prince* who Repeats your Report, you cannot with safety or manners due to the Dignity of his Person, interrupt him, or, in the conclusion, rectifie his Relation with so stout a Forehead, as an Innocent Heart cannot but own. Therefore wait in such Cases of *Secresie*, you must, till some opportunity produceth a *Medium* strong enough to satisfy him to whom you make the Relation, and screen your self from all imputation of Falshood. For want of which Caution, I have known many Ground to pieces between the weight of their own credit, and the parties accused.

It is always *slippery about the Throne*, but most dangerous, where a *Prince*, out of distrust of his own abilities, or attention to the Voice of Pleasure, leaves his Affairs wholly to the Conduct of a *Favourite*; for there to opine contrary to the Gusto of such a Subject, how



how necessary or prudent soever your *Advice* is, will be looked upon as given out of *Design*, if not in *Opposition* to his Greatness. By this I have known many fall into the displeasure of their Sovereign, whose Ears are more open to the Complaints of his *Minion*, than the juster Defences of a more faithful Servant; which can never come to be heard, there being no access to him, but only through the Mediation of the Party you have Offended. Wherefore in such Governments there can be no security, but by proposing what Convenience and Reason dictates by way of *Problem*. And if generally received, it may pass under the *Advice* of others, tho contrary to the hair of the greatest Counsellor, who in this Case knows not against whom to plant his Revenge; a *Number* being no less incapable of Fear than Reproof. But if you find any thing rejected, or but questioned by your Master upon premeditation, you may be sure the hand of *Joab* is in it, and so not to be prosecuted farther without running the hazard of your Ruin.

19. That it is not unlawful to Serve, or bear Office or Arms under such as Ascend the Throne, or other High Places by Steps washed in Blood, you may be abundantly satisfied in Conscience, by the *Church* in *Nero's House*, the good *Centurion*, and many others mentioned in Scripture.

20. Court him always you hope one day to make use of, but at the least Expence you can; observing the condition of *Men in Power*, to esteem better of such as they have done *Courtesies* for; than those they have received greater from; looking upon this as a Shame, upon the other as an Honour.

21. 'Tis a Natural guard, and within the management of the most ordinary Capacities, to keep an Enemy out at the Staves end; but suitable only to a Superlative Prudence, so wisely to Govern your Words and Actions towards a *Friend*, as may Preserve your self from Danger; not to be done but by com-

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communicating to him no more than Discretion or Necessity shall warrant you to Reveal; since Men, in this Relation, destroy as many out of Folly as Perfidiousness; Wisdom being a rarer Ingredient in Friendship than Honesty. This makes me think the Friend *Seneca* brags of, was only an *Utopian*; and therefore I shall pass it by as a Romantick Strain, being rather a Sally of his Wit, than a real Charge issuing out of the Body of his Judgment. The highest *Love* I dare give credit to, is that of *Jonathan*, yet granting he looked upon the Words of *Samuel* as *Oracles*, no other probable way appeared to preserve his *Family*, than by helping *David* to promote that he was thoroughly persuaded he could not hinder. This put into the Balance with the *Frailty*, no less than the *Rarity* of such Persons, makes me advise you not to weigh that was, may be, and perhaps is; but how many more have been betrayed and undone, under the specious pretext of Friendship? wherefore not to be trusted farther than the line of a reciprocal Interest doth extend; no former Merit being now able to give Caution for a future Trust, because depending upon the acceptance of the Receiver, not the value the Giver rates it at. To Conclude, Tho' I think this a necessary Caution, in this perfidious Generation, yet I hope you will be so far tender of your own Honour, as not wilfully to violate *so Sacred a Bond*, never Broken or thought out of Fashion, but by base Hands and corrupted Minds: *Desertion of Friends* being none of the smallest Signs portending the destruction of a People; for such as out of a pretence of *Love*, betray others, will not spare their *King, Country, or God*.

22. Mingle not your Interest with a *Great Man's*, made desperate by Debts or Court Injuries, whose breakings out prove fatal to their wisest Followers and Friends; averred in the last Earl of *Effex* but one, where *Merrick* his Steward, and *Cusse* his Secretary, tho' of excellent Parts, were both Hanged. For such  
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unconcocted Rebellions turn seldom to the hurt of any but the Parties that promote them; being commonly guided by the directions of their Enemies, as this was by *Cecil*, whose Creatures perswaded *Essex* to this inconsiderate attempt.

23. Let nothing unjustifiable or dangerous appear under your *Hand*, which many Years after, may rise up in Judgment against you, when things spoken may be forgot; as happened to the Duke of *Norfolk*, Sir *Gervase Elvis*, and a great Earl I knew led by the Nose all King *James* his Reign, for fear of being questioned about Letters writ to so high a Person as is Treason by the Law, to Solicite, &c. Therefore I charge you, as you tender the Blessing of your own Safety, *not to Write in an ill Sense*, whatever your Character be: For, if not tedious Examination, sharp Torture will force you to produce a Key.

24. Avoid the Folly of *Atleon*, that lost the shape of a Courtier, by prying into their *Secrets*, Religion taught him to Worship: An Humour Sir *Edw. Coke* might have paid dearer for, had he Published the Contents of the Earl of *Somerset's* Letters in a less Merciful King's Reign than *James's*, of whose Pardon the foulest Faults tasted, yet became so highly irritated by this proud Lawyer's indiscretion, as to remove his Anger from the Prisoner to the Judge, where it rested till Death; who, by the Riches and Honours he poured upon such Heads as his Youth found in Arms against him in *Scotland*, and in Junctō's in *England*, hath made it manifest, That a Prince is easier Reconciled to an Enemy, who hath caused him to tremble, than a Subject that hath daily in his Power the means to make him blush. Therefore if you attain any such knowledge, dissemble it, or put the best exposition upon it.

25. Providence or a severer Destiny hath Housed under all Roofs a sufficient proportion of Calamities: Therefore 'tis folly to send to Market for troubles, as those that do contract *Foreign Infelicities*, vexing themselves

selves for the Losses of the Prince of *Conde* in *France*, the Death of the King of *Sweden* in *Germany*, or the Progress of the *Turks* in *Candy*, &c. *Tophet* is prepared of old, as well to Torment the Ambitious and Unquiet Spirits of busie Subjects as Kings.

26. Afflict not your self to see the *Reward of Wisdom* distributed among *Fools*; for those the *Fathers* stone and excruciate by neglect, as the *Jews* did the *Prophets*. Their *Sons* may raise *Monuments*, and curse their *Ancestors*, that out of fear to detect their own Ignorance, barred the Gates of Preferment against all more able than themselves to have Paved a Way to future Felicity: It being the ordinary Mode, if not Policy of the World, to keep Folly at the Helm, and Wit under Hatches.

27. One may attain to a higher degree of Honour and Power under a *Monarch*, than can be found room for in the *Republick*; as is apparent in some *Favourites* that have had the Administration of all Affairs. Yet in my opinion this is abundantly recompensed in the multitude, which the latter employs, who are securer in what they enjoy, in not being subject to the Passions of a single Judgment.

*Republicks* lie most obnoxious to popular *Commutations*, *Monarchies* to clandestine Attempts; in the first it is not safe to be found, unless they be so Epidemical as may more than probably assure Success; in the latter, not decent for a Person of Honour, tho' warranted by never so much Security; no Hands being more loathsome than those that smell of Blood and Treachery.

28. Tho' *Law* Perish (a thing unlikely, being the Guard of all Peace) yet *Oratory* will still keep in repute, as having more Affections to work upon in a *Republick* than a *Monarchy*, one Judgment being easier forestalled than many; so that I may safely presage, if a Golden Tongue fall under a Subtile Head, it may have a great influence upon the whole Senate.

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29. Tho' I hope I have now reason to be Confident you will accomplish the presage, divers long since made of your future *Sufficiency*; yet I should advise not to extend it to any publick demonstration, beyond the Limits of your own *Profession*; since the *Study of the Law* being esteemed by all a full Employment for a whole Man, if you should make a considerable digression into another Calling, it might occasion a jealousy in your *Clients*, you had neglected your own. The several Books, incomparable *Bacon* was known to Read, besides those relating to the *Law*, were objected to him, as an Argument of his insufficiency to manage the Place of *Solicitor General*, and may lie as a rub in all their ways, that shall out of vain-glory, to manifest a general knowledge, neglect this Caution.

30. Avoid in your *Pleadings* such unnecessary Digressions as some of the *Long Robe* do ordinarily make, from the Merit of the Cause, to the *Defamation* of the contrary Party: A Quicksand wherein *Coke* that *Leviathan* of the *Law*, mired his Repute. Nor could he divest this vanity after he was made a Judge; from which height it cast him to the hazard of his Neck, had not the soft Nature of King *James* broke his fall. Nor doth the antiquity of it plead a better excuse, than that he retained the effeminate and weaker Part, leaving the *Roman Elegancy* unimitated.

31. At a Conference, to speak last is no small advantage; as Mr. *John Hamden* wisely observed, who made himself still the Goal-keeper of his Party, giving his opposites leisure to lose their Reasons in the loud and less significant Tempest, commonly arising upon a first Debate; in which, if he found his side worsted, he had the dexterous Sagacity to mount the Argument above the Heads of the major part: Whose single Reason did not seldom make the whole *Parliament* so far suspicious of their own, as to approve his, or at least give time for another Debate, by which he had the opportunity to muster up more forces; thus

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by confounding the weaker, and tiring out the acuter Judgments, he seldom failed to attain his ends.

32. If you be to vote in any *Publick Assembly*, avoid, as much as you may, giving concession under your Hand to any private Man's written Opinions: For you cannot, without experiment, believe how much your own judgment will be altered, and how crude your former Reasons will appear to your self, after they are ruminated and digested by Debate.

Having since these Wars been admitted to *Councils*, where many of no great Capacity have assisted, I never knew any thing come so exactly framed out of one Man's Sense, that did not receive a palpable amendment from the *Debates* of sometimes much inferiour Judgments: Nay I have known some that have had the fortune to start the *Idea*, which when it hath been presented to them again in a perfect *Result*, have not been able to see the bottom of the Wisdom of it, without much difficulty and admiration: Neither is this Miraculous, but Natural; for the *Fuller, Dier, Weaver, &c.* understand not each others Trades, yet between them all a good Piece of Cloth is made.

33. As excellent *Painters* were not wont to fix upon a single Beauty, but did borrow an *Eye* of this and a *Lip, Nose, &c.* from others, out of which was formed an exquisite *Venus*; so shall you do well to propose more than one for imitation, the only way to render you compleat: Since a Man absolute in all points hath not yet risen within the Circle of the largest Experience. Which renders them obnoxious to Censure, rather than Commendations, before Death hath deprived them of the Sense of either: *Envy* that feeds only upon Infirmities, receiving a more favourable Audience from the generality than the loudest desert; the progress of whose *detraktion* doth commonly terminate at the Grave; after which she is as intemperate in their praise by way of comparison with those alive, as she was malicious to them at their being here; where  
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none are so exact, no not in that very Profession, which they have made it the Study of their Lives to be perfect in, but that in some things they lie open to reproof, as I could instance in that course you have chosen, where many taken for Tutors, would not have been thought worth the following were they now in being (as their Contemporaries know) who had the true smack of the *Pottage* before the *Coloquintida* was corrected by the *Earth*, the Womb of Forgetfullness, some wanting *Elocution*, others *Confidence*, and many owners of these, *Moderation*: It lying in the Power of a foolish Custom or Gesture to render the most able, ridiculous; Mens Eyes no less than their Judgments being blind towards themselves: For tho' the *Cliem* loves him that speaks much and loud, the *Court* favours those are modest and pertinent. This I tell you, that you should not take all for current Gold you see glittering in Opinion, nor all for Dross and Counterfeit, which hath not had the Fortune to receive the Impression of her approbation.

34. Before I came to have leisure to observe them, I thought *Princes* and *Ministers of State* something above Humane; not hearing a word fall from them, upon which I did not put a Politick Construction: But growing more familiar with them, I found their Discourses mingled with the same *Follies*, ours are; and their Domestical affairs carried on with as little, if not less discretion sometimes than ordinary Mens.

35. He that seeks *Perfection on Earth*, leaves nothing new for the Saints to find in Heaven: For whilest Men teach, there will be mistakes in Divinity; and as long as no other Govern, Errors in the State: Therefore be not licorish after *Change*, lest you muddy your present felicity with a future greater, and more sharp inconvenience.

36. Those that impute their good *success* to *Chance*, or rather *Providence* (unto which none can be too liberal, since every thing Proceeds from it) rebate the

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point of *Envy* far more than such as father them upon their own *Wisdom* or *Valour*, in which many pretend an ample share, that may easily be brought to confess themselves exceeded in *Luck*. And most Men are willing to imploy or follow his Conduct that lies under the high esteem of a *Favourite to Fortune*: Who are ever acceptable in the Courts of Princes, because they create more hope than jealousy; All being apter to Reverence and Love, than Malign such as they think operate under the favourable Aspect of the Omnipotent *God*: Which opinion attained, it breeds no less Confidence in Friends than it strikes Terror into Enemies.

37. As I would have you primarily intend stopping of the Leaks in your own Bottom, if called to the *Helm* (from which in Free States none are exempt) so you must by no means neglect the repairing the broken fortunes of others found to be of *excellent Parts*, who if not made Friends by Preferment, may prove dangerous to a New-founded State: Neither are *Preferments* so scarce, or these so numerous, but that there is provision enough for them in these three Nations: I confess Queen *Elizabeth* most happy in this, which preserved her from Civil Wars; whose Foundations are commonly laid by Artificers too subtle to be discovered; Flames, as in Hay or Straw, may be kindled in the more combustible People, by such Foxes as shall appear rather to carry Water, than Fire-Brands; Nothing in Experience being found more mortal than an unseasonable Commendation from an eloquent Tongue or a forced compliance from a discontented Politician. The *Consistory* and *Jesuits* maintain throughout the World the Traffique of Sedition and privy Conspiracy, yet have had so much Wit, as to land it in *Presbyterians* bottoms, and to cover their Disobedience to Governors under the attempts of the *Anabaptists*, that naturally acknowledge none. The Truth is, if wise Men will make it their business, they may be easily

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able, where the People are unsettled, to obstruct all good, and promote much evil, under the specious pretences of *Religion* and *Safety*: Therefore far cheaper pleased than discontented; being otherwise in true Policy capable of no slighter security than shall be able to cut off all hope or desire of future Revenge: The consideration of which, tho' it cannot make me altogether approve, yet it abates my severity in the Condemnation of that Legislator, said to have Written his Laws in Blood, which might be more suitable to the Complexion of some Times, than may possibly hitherto have been thought.

38. The like may be imagined of *Men proscribed*, who between thirst of Revenge, and a desire of Returning, do not seldom promote their Countries Ruin. This also may Authorize their Tenets, that hold *Punishing Children* with the loss of Goods for their *Fathers Crimes*, as dangerous as unjust. And under this Head may be reduced all *Penal Laws*, laid upon Faults not really prejudicial to the State: Nor can a too rigid scrutiny, either after personal lapses in Manners, or uncouth Tenets in Religion, produce any good Effects to a Commonwealth where no *Inquisition* is, which under the *Papacy* draws the envy wholly upon the Church, made incapable not only by Custom, but by an awful Reverence of all Revenge.

39. Another Error may happen (especially where a Free State is founded in Arms) by conceding too great a Power to the *Souldiery*; who like the Spirits of Conjurers, do oftentimes tear their Masters and Rulers in Pieces for want of other Employment. Therefore since it is beyond the plenty of any Nation to proportion a Reward suitable to the opinion they have of their own Merit, it behoves the Supream Power to bury their Covetousness and Ambition in the fields of others by a Foreign War, yet as little to their discontent as may be; always giving them the Honour of good Servants, though bad Masters; Remembering  
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that the Cause you raised them for, is not so deep buried, but it may rise again to the Terror of all that withstand it.

40. Neither can the *Clergy* be rendered with less danger, Despicable than Great; both these Extreams equally crossing the ways of Peace; yet more Safety possibly may accrue from estating them in so comfortable a competency, as the losing of it may Create fear, than such a Power as they have in other Nations, found by experience to produce Pride and Ambition, besides an encroachment on the Peoples Liberty, whose Natures they are used to warp towards any side, by the Hope and Terror they raise in Consciences in relation to another World; the exploding of which Belief would be no less diminution to the Reverence of the Civil Magistrate, than the Profit of the Priesthood.

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# ADVICE to a SON.

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## V. Religion.

i. **R**Ead the *Book of God* with Reverence, and in things doubtful take Fixation from the *Autherity* of the *Church*, which cannot be Arraigned of a damnable Error, without questioning that Truth, which hath proclaim'd her proof against the *Gates of Hell*. This makes me wish that our *Samsons in Success*, who have stript her of her Ornaments (Riches, Powers and Honours, which the Ancient Piety left her to cover her Nakedness withal) and given them to vain Expounders of Riddles, may not one day have cause to Repent, when they find themselves annoyed, no less than the Eyes of Truth put out by the dust and rubbish the fall of so great and antique a Frame is likely to make. Therefore be content to see your Judgment Wade, rather than Swim in the *Sense of the Scriptures*; because our deep Plungers have been observed to bring up sandy Assertions, and their Heads wrapt about with the venomous Weeds of Error and Schism; which may for the present discountenance the Endeavours of modester Learning, yet will, no doubt, sink and vanish, after some Time and Experience had of their frequent Mistakes, as those of our bold Expositors of the *Revelation* have most shamefully done.

For if *Brightman*, known by my self Pious and Learned, could be so out in his Calculations for the Pope's Fall, as to the time: What encouragement remains for you to perplex your Studies or expectati-

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on, when those Hieroglyphical *Obscurities* shall be performed?

2. The prudent *Consistory* finding the less zealous, yet more prying Judgments of these Times too full of Caution, Suspicion, &c. to credit *new Miracles*, have forbidden the predication of more, without Licence from those who are too cautelous for the passing of any, not at least in semblance, proof against Detection; leaving them for the rest to the large stock Time and Custom (the Vouchers of many a Lie) have conveyed to them from their Ancestors better cultivated Ignorance and Credulity; which may with far greater Reason advise us to a more tender and honourable esteem of the Sacred Books of the Prophet *Daniel* and the *Apocalypse*, than to suffer them still, like *Whittington's Bells*, to Ring the Advancement or Knell of those at the Helm. *Comines* having noted it as a Blemish of *England*, to measure their Hopes and Fears by Fanatick presages; the consequence of which is in the future, likely to prove as fatal to the *Lay-Power*, as they have formerly been to the *Ecclesiastical*; so as our Governors, if they tender Religion or their own Safety, must hang the Lock of *Restraint* against these bold *Interpretations*; since the Seal those Books retain, strengthened with the dreadful Comminations of the Holy Spirit, are not sufficient to stay the Ages Presumption; who from among these *Hieroglyphicks* pick out such *Cognizances* as best suit their Designs, not so easily brought about, as by a mis-led Zeal in the Rabble; and after they have fixed them on those that stand in the way of their Advancement, they, like *Diana*, set their own People upon them. Nor can a *Restriction* put upon our Peepers into such *Mysteries*, be any more obstruction to the Divine Truths they contain (not legible by any light the knowledge of Men hath hitherto attained) than it was Sloth or Sin in the *Egyptians*, not to follow their Callings till the three days Darkness was over, or their Abstinence from Water a

contempt of God's Blessing, after it was by *Moses* converted into Blood, and become the Sanctuary for venomous Frogs. This makes me think a Prosecution of the *Oriental Tongues* (beyond an ability to understand them) is like Musick or Fencing, unable to requite the Time they consume; *Hebrew* being observed to grow for the most part in *Soils* apter to produce *Roots* than *Flowers*, yet so luxurious in the variety of Readings and Significations, as it amazeth the Wise, and precipitates the Ignorant and Factious into no less deep than destructive Enthusiasms.

3. He may be less Prudent, if not Religious, who strains at a Gnat, contrary to the Stomach of the Church he lives in, than such as swallow greater things owned by her *Universal Consent*: For he that herds with the Congregation, tho' in an Error, hath *Obedience* to stand by him; whereas a Truth in the other, may be rendred more Peccant through a solitary obstinacy; since it is ordinary with the Holy Spirit to Register such things for good, as had not quite expunged all Marks of Idolatry, tho' possibly in their Power to have done it, which a private Person cannot but want, having nothing but Arguments to oppose, blunted through Prejudice arising from a contrary Practice.

4. Despise not a *Profession of Holiness*, because it may be true; but have a care how you trust it, for fear it should be false: The Coat of Christ being more in Fashion than in Practice, *Many Pulpit-Men, like Physicians, forbidding their Patients that, you may ordinarily find on their own Trenchers.*

5. *Hypocrisie*, tho' looked upon by the Church, (the Spouse of Christ) as a gaudy and painted Adulteress, yet if she passeth undiscovered, the result is not so dangerous as that of open Prophaneness: Therefore shun all occasions of *Scandal*, which commonly arise from *Drink*, whose Followers have their Lapses scored on every wall.



6. *Criticisms and curious Questions in School Divinity*, may whet the Wit, but are detected for dulling the edge of Faith, and were never Famous for Edification; and tho' looked upon in these last Centuries, as the Right Hand of Learning, yet better cut off than used as they have long served, for Weapons of Contention; devised to puzzle the *Laitie*, and render the *Clergy* no less Necessary than Honourable; who have Work enough cut out for them till Dooms-day, to resolve which is least suitable to the Divine Essence, to have Bound the Hands of Men, or left them at Liberty. By this a constraint must needs be put upon us, or our Maker, &c. Which considered, renders it the more strange why School-Men pass for Saints, and *Arminians* in some Judgments for, &c.

7. I can approve of none for *Magisterial Divinity*, but that which is found floating in the unquestioned Sense of the Scriptures; therefore when cast upon a Place that seems equally inclined to different Opinions, I would advise to count it as Bowlers do, for *dead* to the present Understanding, and not to torture the Text by measuring every Nicety, but rather turn to one more Plain, referring to that all disputes; without knocking one hard place against another, as they have done since this Iron Age, till an unquenchable Fire of Contention is kindled, and so many jarring and uncertain sounds of Religion heard, as Men stand amaz'd, not knowing which to follow, all pretending to be in the right, as if it were possible for Truth to contradict her self.

8. I grant the *Socinians* are not at this time unworthily looked upon, as the most Chymical and Rational part of our many Divisions; yet going contrary to the ancient *Canons of the Church* (esteemed in the School of the Fathers, the best Grammar of a Christian's Creed) and wanting the principal Buttresses of Prescription, Universality and Consent, to uphold the Convenience, and justify the truth of their Doctrine,

I cannot award them so much approbation as they seem in Reason to plead for; yet are so far confident, that if just proof can be made of their adulterating the Faith of Antiquity, few Professions extant can justly take up *the first Stone* against them; who upon a Consciencious scrutiny, may possibly appear equally culpable: However, such as call them *Arians*, do not think they Honour them with a former universal Consent, *Athanasius* only excepted: And other less probable Opinions may learn this Candor and Charity from them, nor to Bar Heaven-Gates against all Professions but their own; or, like our Retailers of New Lights, pull Passengers into their Preaching-Houses by the Sleeves, as if all wanted Religion but themselves.

9. And as the *Socinian Doctrine* appears too Aiery, High and Mercurial for ordinary Capacities, whose understandings are usually consumed, like *Jupiter's* Mistress, in the splendid Commerce of such sublime Speculations; so the *Roman* is too Earthy and Saturnine, participating of the Dross of Merit, Images, Indulgences, &c. Which convinceth Her of so much wordly Respect as she stands condemned by all, but such as are betrayed to her Devotion through Ignorance, Profit, or Honour, on the one hand, or chained to her Obedience by the Iron Inquisition on the other.

10. Yet were not *Purgatory*, with the rest of the *Romish* Goblins, obtruded as Articles of Faith, I should be less scandalized at them; in hope by accident they might occasion good; finding humane Nature so Childish, as to be sooner scared, than perswaded out of the dark Entries of Sin; the real Rod not being so terrible in the hand of the Magistrate, as these Phantasms, which Tradition and the Priests subtilty hath formed in the Peoples Brains.

11. But in conclusion, you will find the *Reformation* most conformable to the Duty we owe to God, and the Magistrate; if not too Phlegmatick in passing by  
decent

V. Y. decent Ceremonies, or too Cholerick and Rigid in obtruding upon weak and tender Consciences.

12. And yet it was no unhappy rencounter in him that said, *A good Religion might be Composed out of the Papists Charity, the Puritans Words, and the Protestants Faith*: For where *Works* are thought too chargeable, outward *Profession* too cumberfom, the *Third* renders it it self suspected: The two first being only palpable to Sense and Reason, stand firm like a Rock; whereas the other shakes under the weight of every Phancy, as *Peter* did when he walked upon the Sea: To speak *English*, In *Good Works* none can be deceived but the Doer, in valuing them too high; in the two latter, all but God, who only knows the Heart.

13. I confess the *Millenaries* are of so jovial a Creed, as I could be content it stood with the will of God, I might herd with them; who, if not approved, I do not find condemned by any Council, at least for the first 300 Years.

14. But for the Vagabond *Schismatick*, he is so fiery, as he cannot last long unconsumed, being ready upon the least advantage to melt all into Sedition; not sparing to burn the Fingers of Government longer than they shower down Offices and Preferments upon him; whining for a Sanctity here, God never yet trusted out of Heaven: Therefore incapable of quiet, but under a severe Restraint, or an absolute Liberty.

15. And our new *Levelling Opinions*, tho' they seem to Transcribe their Authority, from the no less inimitable than miraculous Practice of the Primitive times, stand (if taken at the farthest extent) in so diametrical an Opposition to all humane felicity, as not likely to proceed from the Lord of Order: Being, if Lights, in such dark Lanthorns, as rob humane Society of all Reward, and consequently, endeavour of desert: Yet the Owners tho' unconstant in their new ways, pronounce it Damnable to keep the old.

16. It



16. It is observable in the present humour, that those who carry an impress of the wildest Errors, have a safer Pass-port to Travel by, and a nearer step to Preferment than such as retain the Tenets our Fathers kept in gross during the Flames of the ancient Persecutions, and by retail under the Modern: Making the Honour of that Doctrine scandalous, for which our Ancestors were not ashamed to Die; who are by this rendered the worst of Murderers, as having through obstinacy, been guilty of their own Death.

17. Will not such proceedings incline to *Anarchy*? And that proving loathsome to all, make room for the old or some more acceptable Family, if not for Conquest by a Foreign Nation? because People lying uneasily, are apt to such Tumblings and Changes, and cannot but at last bring them under a Power, strong enough to constrain, or cunning enough to persuade them, with a pretence of Holiness and Righteousness, to a mutual Compliance, in relation to a Change of Government. Of the first three are multitudes of examples throughout all Prophane Histories; of the latter few but Sacred, where the Jews under *Moses* being led by the miraculous Hand of God, are not capable to be comprized under the erring Axioms of Human Policy. As for *Mahomet*, he rolled on his untutored Rabble, by mixing Profit and Rapine with his Religion, which he left uncertain, grounding his Precepts upon Success, ever owned as dropped upon them out of Heaven; making himself still confident of the Event, which I cannot undertake, therefore unable in these Aporetick Times, to give you better Counsel, than to keep your Compliance so loose, as if possible, you may fix it to the best Advantage of your Profit and Honour.

18. Nevertheless, tho' a high, palpable and external Zeal is taken, by the present Age, as a mark of Confidence, yet I cannot look upon it with such Affection, because screwed up to these Altitudes in many,

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by the Wooden-Pins of Worldly Respects: Not likely to hold longer in Tune, than a Harmony can be made among all Parties, now possibly at odds, or under a jealous Aspect: Therefore I advise you to put no more of it on, than with Decency you may divest, in case the Fashion should alter, and the rich Die the Wars have dipt it in, be rubbed off; since all Customs rise or fall proportionable to the Exchange they make for the Preferments in the State; to which in Discretion you are bound to suit your Obedience, tho' not your Conscience. For I would have my Persuasions understood to reach only to what is consonant to Religion; which doth not blind you to choak your Fortunes with the Criticisms of such Postillers of the Age, as value their Interpretations of Scripture above Liberty or Life; and by this over-weaning, one Century makes Martyrs of those the Precedent thought Hereticks, and such Liberators of their Country, as were formerly held Traitors.

19. Keep then your *Conscience* tender, but not so raw, as to wince and kick at all you understand not; nor let it baffle your Wit out of the bounds of Discretion, as such do that suffer themselves to be moved by it: To prevent which, keep *Reason* always in your Eye; whose Light ought never to be lost in the worldly Action, and but eclipsed in what relates to Heaven; the Tribunal of *Conscience* being erected in our Soul, to detect our Miscarriages, not to betray our well-being, and therefore subordinate not only to a superlative Authority, but also our own honest, safe and wholsom Conveniencies. Neither is *Conscience* seldom misled by Education, Custom, and the false Representations of Teachers, who benighted in the dark Interests of Covetousness and Ambition, seek to lodge others under the Roof of such Institutes as they believe not themselves, yet employ all their Art, Sufficiency and Endeavour, to make them pass for Authentick and the pure Mind of God; like Juglers, that beguile

guile our Senses with what is not, to have the better Opportunity to pick our Pockets of what is really useful to themselves; for as the more subtile Wind got into the narrow and delicate Parts of our Body, is able to act the Stone, Gout, and other most acute Diseases, not really present; so doth *Superstition* represent in this changeable and Concave Glass of a suborned *Conscience*, things for Sinful, that are indeed but Natural and Indifferent; and other Pious, that are really Vain and Destructive; the prosecution of which leads readily to Atheism, or an over-biassed Holiness, which prosecutes all that carry the impression of any contrary Tenets.

20. Fly that self-murdering Tyrant *Obstinacy*, who, like our Witches, is not seldom found to pamper the Imps of Heresie with her own Blood; being not only now, but from all Antiquity, able to bring Clouds of Witnesses to the Stake, for the proof of the Wildest Opinions. And, if I am not much mistaken, from the reverberation of her Heat, the Flames of the Ancient Persecutions, as well as those that followed, were at least increased, if not kindled.

21. All Religions but ours, are accounted Idolatrous; and *Idolatry* is a Misprision of the true *Worship*, in lieu of which some other is intruded upon belief, more catching to Sense and auspicious to Legislators Designs, than that purer Reverence due only to the Honour and perfect Will of God: Before which it is very ordinary with unsanctified *Politicians* to interject such false *mediums* as may flatter or terrifie their Subjects into an awful Obedience of themselves and their Laws. Therefore since nothing in *External Worship* can be performed but in some *posture*, or after this or that *manner*, which Unity and Time will soon make general, and so concoct what was formerly indifferent, into a Religious *Ceremony*; by which *Superstition*, if not *Idolatry*, hath stole into the *Romish Church*; who by imposing a Necessity upon what was at first

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possibly a mistake, or a meer extravagancy, have bred such a Reverence in their People toward things proceeding perhaps from no higher inspiration than the breath of Authority, that they expect no Salvation without them; which fond over-weaning may justly bring many laudable *Customs*, derived to us from an unquestioned Ancient *Tradition*, into the same predicament the *Brazen Serpent* fell, when by the *Jews* it was abused to Idolatry; which tho' a *Type* of our Saviour, was it self without question lawfully *disfigured*: This makes me confess, that tho' I Honour Ancient *Tradition* with the highest—, I cannot be of that Spirit to *contest* for her (or against her) *unto blood*: But do rather believe the cruel Contention begun between the *Greek* and *Latin Churches*, about the time of *Easter*, resulted from Ambition more than Piety, as may appear by the unhappy Consequences of that strife. This may perswade to a *Conformity* with such Governments, as shall explode former modes used in the *External Worship* of God: The Question, *Who required these Things at your Hands?* May one Day prove as hard to Resolve, and cause no less Astonishment than fell upon him Interrogated, *How camest thou in hither, not having a Wedding Garment?* Understood of Endowments far mor Essential to Salvation, than any Human Constitutions can be.

22. As it is manifest, that most *Princes* and Men in Power (the not unlikeliest to know Truth, because it is suspected they did at first disguise it) make no more account of *Religion*, than the Profit and Conveniencie it brings, is able to compensate; so that the unbiassed *Rabble*, if once emancipated out of the Fetters, their former Creed confined them to, value the *Church*, as they do the old Coins they dig up, which they take for Counters, because they find them subject to Rust, and are not able by reason of the *Roman Inscriptions* (the Character of the *Beast*, which Opinion rather than Judgment imagines them branded withal) to make them

them pass in the strict Commerce of these intoxicating Times; whereby they exchange that for baser Metals which in it self perhaps is pure Gold, only attached unhappily by the Cankers and Corruption of the Age easier scoured off than melted.

23. But if *S. Peter's* pretended Successor, the Pope be found guilty of such Erroneous Mistakes, it can not be somuch, a Solæcism in Reason with our Seekers to place *S. Thomas* in the Chair; believing, like him no more than lies patent to Human Understanding which is as much as can decently be imposed upon a new Believer without a Miracle: *Reason* being all the Touchstone besides left in our Hands, to distinguish this Gold from the Dross, they pretend our Religion hath contracted. The *Scripture* alone seeming unable, by reason of her Readings, and the several Sounds and variety of Expositions have put upon it, to decide all Differences: Besides the long abroad she hath made at *Rome* (where who knows whether or no, or how far that Bishop hath put in his Foot?) may render her in some Opinions, suspected, as participating of the like Corruptions, we see manifested in Translations: So as it may possibly be wished, Learning had never taken her out of the Hands of *Tradition*: Where for many Years she remained with more quiet than ever she enjoyed since she grew Domestical with all sorts of Understandings, who have been connived at by the State (how prudently I dare not determin) whilst they cut her more short, or extend her longer, as best fitted their Ends and Occasions. Now if Faith be not allowed to be taken implicitly from the Authority of any Church, a Freedom of Choice, by consequence will result to all, by which Salvation must be wrought out: And in this Wilderness of Contention we have no better Guide to follow than *Reason*, found the same for many thousands of Years, tho' *Belief* hath been observed to vary every Age. And since so considerable a Falshood is thought to be discovered by our Governors,

governors in the Clergies Tenet, for the *impunity of Kings*; why may not their poor Subjects be unsatisfied about the Place they shall receive their own Reward or Punishment in after this Life; or what else may befall these dusty Bodies of ours? Yet I say not this to diminish your Faith, but to encrease your Charity towards *tender Consciences*, who may pretend cause enough to doubt, tho' my single Judgment is still ready to determine for *Antiquity*; which I would have you Reverence, but not conclude Infallible; yet I should take her Word sooner in *Divinity* than any other *Learning*, because that is clearest at the beginning, all Studies else more muddy, receiving Clarification from Experience.

All Truth familiar unto Mortals is only legible by the Eye of *Reason*, *Revelation*, *Prophecy*, &c. being Strangers now to Flesh, and ever too high elevated for the perpetual Commerce of such weak Creatures, who may sometimes enjoy a glimmering of them, as the Northern Inhabitants do of the Sun in Winter, not permanent longer than they are able to Fan away the dark Clouds of Infidelity, which dims their Light upon the Absence of the Extasie: Whereas *Reason* passeth in an Universal Commerce, being of an unquestioned Alloy, and therefore the likeliest to be the Oracles of the everliving God; said by *Solomon* to have *squared the Bars of the Earth by her Rule*, and so not improbably supposed to have measured out a way to Heaven by her Line. *S. Paul* allows the notice of God's Universal Goodness for a sufficient Evidence to convince the Disobedient Heathen; and may not the same as well save the faithful Observers of the purer Law of Nature? Shall the Righteous Judge of all things be found with two Weights, one to Save, an other to Damn by? *Reason* only Commands *Belief*, all things else Beg it, so far as the most stupendious *Miracles* that ever were, cannot Confute, tho' 'tis possible they may silence it for a Time; But *Belief* changeth, and impairing



pairing or mending implies a wearing out Imperfections; *Reason* is incapable of remaining the same forever, as the most faithful Guide to our maker.

24. It is no less worth your Observance than Admiration, that some of the wild *Indians*, and other People by us stiled *Barbarous*, are yet more Strangers to the unfociable Sins of Improbability, Covetousness, &c. than such as pretend to advance their Conversion; of which this may be a Reason, That whilest they remain constant to the pure Dictates of Nature, they imagine no Meditation to secure their Hopes, or screen their Fears, conceived to depend on another Life, but their own Endeavours, which might give *Paul* an occasion to pronounce them, *a Law to themselves*, and therefore possibly within the Compass of God's secret Grace; it being our Saviour's own Confession to him that had kept the Commandments, that nothing wanted but the Sale of his *Propriety*; a Term these understand not, having all in Common, and if the last part be looked upon as omitted, I would fain know who follows his Master best, he that comes loaden with what he is able, and goes as far as he can with him; or else he that hath lost it all, or is lazy and lies down by the Way; Acceptance being a far easier Grant than Pardon?

25. *Religions* do not naturally differ so much in themselves, as fiery and uncharitable Men pretend; who do not seldom Persecute those of their own Creed, because they profess it in other Terms. Then do not only ask thy *Conscience* what is Truth, but give her full leisure to resolve thee; for he that goes out of the Way with her Consent, is likelier to find rest, than he that plods on without taking her Directions.

Therefore do nothing against the Counsel of this Guide, tho' she is observed in the World to render her Owners obnoxious to the Injury and Deceit of all that converse without her; *Nothing being more hard and chargeable to keep than a good Conscience.*

26. Let no seeming Opportunity prevail so far upon your *curiosity*, as to entice you to an *inspection* into your *future fortune*; since such *inquisitiveness* was never answered with good Success: The World like a Lottery, affording multitudes of Crosses for one Prize; which reduced all into a sum, must by a necessary consequence, render the remainder of Life tedious, in removing present Felicities, to make room for the Contemplation of future Miseries.

Do not pre-engage *Hope* or *Fear* by a tedious *expectation*, which may lessen the Pleasure of the first, yet cannot but aggravate the weight of the latter, whose arrival is commonly with a less train of inconveniences, than this Harbinger strives to take up room for, *evil Fortune being no less inconstant than good*: Therefore render not thy self giddy, by pouring on Despair, nor wanton with the Contemplation of Hope.

27. Stamp not the Impress of a *Divine Vengeance* upon the Death or Misfortunes of others, tho' never so prodigious; for fear of Penning a Satyr against your self, in case you should fall under the same chance: Many things being taken up as dropped out of an immediate Celestial Hand, that fell from a no higher pitch than where God in his Providence hath placed such Events, as wait upon all times and occasions, which Prayers and Prudence are not able always to shroud you from: Since upon a strict Enquiry, it may appear, that in relation to this World, the Godly have as little cause to brag as the Wicked to complain.

28. Be not easily drawn to lay the foul *imputation* of *Witchcraft* upon any, much less to assist at their *Condemnation*, too common among us; For *who is sufficient for these things*, since we are as ignorant in the Benevolences, as Malignities of Nature? *Madmen* presenting in their Melancholy Extasies, as prodigious Confessions and Gestures, as are objected to these no less infatuated People. And if this humour hath so far prevailed with some, as to take themselves for Urinals,

nals, Wolves, and what not : Can it seem impossible for those, invaded by all the causes of discontent, to imagine themselves Authors of what they never did ? Most of these strange Miracles they suppose, being hatched by the heat of Imagination, or snatched out of the huge Mass of Contingences, such a Multitude of Individuals as the World produceth, cannot chuse but stumble upon ; neither may it be admitted, with due Reverence to the Divine Nature : That *Prophecy* should cease, and *Witches* so abound ; as seems by their frequent Executions ; which makes me think the strongest Fascination is encircled within the Ignorance of the Judges, *Malice* of the Witnesses, or *Stupidity* of the poor Parties accused.

29. Be not therefore hasty to Register all you understand not, in the black Calender of Hell, as some have done the *Weapon-salve* ; passing by the Cure of the *Kings-Evil*, altogether as improbable to Sense ; neither rashly *Condemn* all you meet with that contradicts the common received Opinion, lest you should remain a Fool upon Record, as the *Pope* doth, that Anathematized the *Bishop of Saltsburg*, for maintaining *Antipodes* ; and the *Consistory*, that may possibly attain the same Honour, for decreeing against the probable Opinion of the *Earths Motion* ; since the branding of one *Truth* imports more Disrepute than the Broaching of ten *Errors*, these being only lapses in the search of new Reason, without which there can be no addition to Knowledge ; that, a murdering of it, when by others greater Wit and Industry it is begotten, not to be accounted less than an unpardonable Sin against the Spirit of Learning. Therefore mingle *Charity* with Judgment, and temper your Zeal with Discretion, so may your own Fame be preserved, without intrenching upon that of others.

Fall not out with *Charity*, tho' you find for the most part *Ingratitude* lying at her Gate ; which God hath contrived, the better to reserve Requital to himself.



30. As he offers an high Indignity to the *Divine Nature* that robs God of his Honour, by owning Thoughts of him unsutable to the Dictates of Reason (the exactest Engine we have to measure him by, out of the Volume of his Word;) so doth he offend no less against *Probity* that detains anothers *Due*; contrary to Justice and the Clamours of his own Conscience; whereby he makes himself and his Posterity Heirs to the Curse, which the Wheel of Providence, moved by the Breath of God's first *Fiat*, doth usually stamp upon those, that endeavour to deface the impress of Goodness and Equity, which appeared in all things at the beginning. Therefore be not forward to promote any *destructive Tenents*, or liquorish after such *ill-gotten Estates*, as the Law of Power may for a small Summ be wooed to possess you of, out of an Hope to engage you, or a Fear they might revert, in case they were not diffused amongst a multitude of Owners.

Make not *Law*, or the *Power* you may possibly exercise in the *Common-wealth*, instrumental to your private Malice; *No Murders being so bloody*, as those committed by the *Sword of Justice*.

31. Let not the Cheapness or Conveniency of *Church-Lands* tempt you to their Purchase; for tho', I have not observed Vengeance so nimble in this World, as Divines pretend; yet what Prudence is there to submit all your future Success to be measured out, by so severe Expositions, as *Church-Men* usually make of *Sacrilegious Persons*, which all are Registred to be, that meddle with their *Revenues*? Besides the Danger and Shame of refunding, in case a contrary Zeal should repossess the People; whose Clamours and Warrant cannot be thought less sufficient to obliterate your Title, than the former; Written as may be supposed, with more Authentick Ink.

32. Denounce no *enmity* against the *Clergy*; for supported by Prayers or Policy, they cannot long want an Opportunity to revenge themselves. Nei-

ther oppose any Religion you find *Established*, how ridiculous soever you apprehend it; for tho' like *David*, you may bring unavoidable Arguments to stagger a Popular Error; none but the Monster's own Sword, can cut off the Head of one Universally Received.

Run not hooting after every new *Light* you may observe to wander about, nor endeavour by a tumultuous Dispute to puff it out: For he that will not quench the *smoking Flax*, may possibly accept of a Lamp composed of no richer stuff than *Rushes*.

33. Grudge not *Tythes* to the Teachers of the Gospel, assigned for their Wages by the Divine Legislator; of whose Institutes this was none of the least Profound, That the Tribe of *Levi* were prohibited all other Revenue, than what was deducible out of the tenth part of the other Elezens Encrease: Setting bounds thereby to all the Improvement, their Wildoms, and the tie the Priesthood had over the Peoples Consciences, might in the future possibly make, in causing their Maintenance to rise and fall, proportionable to the general standard of the Nations felicity which this limitation obliged them to promote, and for their own sakes, to oppose all incroachments likely to interrupt their Brethrens utility. This prompts me to believe, that if the like Salary were assigned here, we might promise to our selves the same Success; provided the Sovereign Power reserved in their own Hands the collation of *Benefices*, without giving leave to any *Stipendaries* or *Lecturers*, that signify little less than an *Anti-clergy*: And to perswade this, there may be more Reason, than the narrow Project of this Discourse is able to find room for.

34. Yet I cannot but by the way mind you of the Superlative *Wisdom* of *Moses*, who lest one Sacrilegious injury should have proved a precedent for a greater (had the People made a benefit by the Spoil) employed the *Censers* of *Corah* and his Complices to make Plates for the *Altar*: But finding the *Gold* of *Idols* too

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V. rank, decently to be used in the Service of God, he reduced them to Dust, and threw them into the River; lest the Multitude having been fleshed on a *Calf*, a false Deity, should after assume the boldness to rob the true One, and those his Institutes appointed to live by his Service.

35. And here it may not improperly be said, that Cardinal *Wolsey* was ignorant of, or had forgot this Aphorism of Policy, when he pulled down *Monasteries* to Build *Colleges*; by which he instructed that docile Tyrant *Henry* the Eighth to improve the same: There being *nothing forwarder to demolish the results of Zeal and Ignorance than Learning and Knowledge*. Neither did he discover himself a more accomplished Courtier, when he laid the Foundation of a *Grave* for a living King; who could not be delighted with the sight of a *Tomb*, tho' never so magnificent, having lived in so high a Sensuality, as I may doubt, whether he would then have Exchanged it for the Joys of Heaven it self. I instance in this, as a fit Example to dissuade you from thinking it Discretion or Manners to use *Funerous Discourses before Princes or Men in Power*; who hate nothing so much as the thought of their own Mortality, and therefore unlikely to be pleased with the Messengers of it.

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# ADVICE to a SON.

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## The Conclusion.

1. **B**ear always a filial Reverence to your dear Mother, and let not her Old Age, if she attain it, seem tedious unto you; since the little she may keep from you, will be abundantly Recompenced, not only by the Prayers, and by the tender Care she hath, and ever will have of you; therefore in case of my Death, (which weariness of the World will not suffer me to adjourn, so much as by a wish) do not proportion your Respect by the Mode of other Sons, but to the greatness of her Desert, beyond Requital in relation to us both.

2. Continue in Love and Amity with your Sister, and in case of Need, help her what you are able; Remembering, you are of a Piece, and Hers and Yours differ but in Name; which I presume (upon want of Issue) will not be denied to be imposed on any Child of hers, you shall desire to take for your own.

3. Let no time expunge his Memory that gave you the first Tincture of Erudition; to which he was more invited by Love than Profit, no less than his Incomparable Wife: Therefore if God make you able, requite them, and in the mean while Register their Names among those you stand most obliged unto.

4. What you leave at your Death, let it be without Controversie; else the Lawyers will be your Heirs.

5. Be not solicitous after Pomp at my Burial, nor use any expensive Funeral Ceremony; by which Mourners, like Crows, devour the Living under pretence of Honouring a Dead

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*a Dead Carcas*: Neither can I apprehend a *Tomb-stone* to add so great a *weight of Glory* to the Dead, as it doth of Charge and Trouble to the Living; *None* being so *Impertinent wasters*, in my opinion, as those that *build Houses for the Dead*: He that lies under the *Herse* of Heaven is convertible into sweet Herbs and Flowers, that may rest in such Bosoms, as would shriek at the ugly Bugs, may possibly be found crawling in the Magnificent Tomb of *Henry the Seventh*; which also hinders the variety of such contingent *Resurrections* as unarched Bodies enjoy, without giving interruption to That, which He that will not again Die, hath promised to such as Love him and expect his appearing: Besides, that Man were better forgotten, who hath nothing of greater Moment to Register his Name by than a Grave.

Contest not with such Frantick People as deny Men the *Burial* formerly called Christian; since unquietness importunes a Living Body more than a Ceremony can advantage one that is Dead. Neither be too rigid in giving or leaving out the *Title of Saint*, before their Names that appear in the Scripture to have been really such: Since the practice in both Senses, hath been often abused; the first to an over-esteem of the Creature, the latter to the discouragement of Piety, through a second Martyrdom inflicted upon the repate of those, who laid down all Care of the World, if not their lives, for the Gospel. Thus a wise Man may convert the most putrid humours to a pious use, or where this falls short of a good Conscience, to eke it out with *Patience*, a far easier remedy, than a less probable *Contention*. These and an hundred other Changes ought not to disturb our Rest, who are less interested in what can happen after our Death, than in what was extant before our birth, no Books being legible in the dark Grave.

6. Neither can I apprehend such Horrour in *Death*, as some do that render their Lives miserable to avoid

it, meeting it oftentimes by the same way they take to shun it. *Death* if he may be guessed at by his elder Brother *Sleep*, (born before he was thought on, and fell upon *Adam* ere he fell from his Maker) cannot be so terrible a Messenger, being not without much *Ease*, if not some *Voluptuousness*. Besides, nothing in this World is worth coming from the House top to fetch it, much less from the deep Grave; furnished with all things, because empty of Desires.

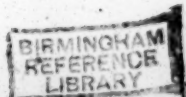
7. And concerning a future Account, I find the Bill to swell rather than shrink, by continuance: Or if a stronger propensity to Religion resides in Age, than Youth (which I wish I had no cause to doubt of) it relates more to the temperature of the Body, than an improvement of the Mind; and so unworthy of any other reward, than what is due to the effects of humane infirmities.

8. To conclude, Let us *Serve God* with what Reverence we are able, and do all the good we can, making as little unnecessary work for Repentance, as is possible: And the Mercy of our Heavenly Father supply all our Defects in the Son of his Love. Amen.

Thus I have left you finished (Dear Son) a Picture of the World; in this at least, like it, that it is frail and confused; being an Original, not a Copy; No more foreign help having been employed in it, than what my own miserable Experience had imprinted in my Memory. And as you have by trial already found the Truth of some of These, so I most earnestly beg of you to trust the rest, without thrusting your Fingers, like a Child, into those Flames, in which your Father hath formerly been burnt, and so add, by your own Purchase, to the multitude of Inconveniencies he is forced to leave you by Inheritance.

Now You are Taught to Live, there's nothing I Esteem worth Learning but the way to Die.

THE END.





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A N

# I N D E X

Of the Particulars contained in this

## ADVICE to a SON.

WHEREBY ALSO

The Reader may find the *Additions* to this *Impression* (whether whole Paragraphs, or part) noted in a *different Character*.

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Preface to the Reader.  
To his Son.

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11. Choice Books, Negotiations, Ambassadors.
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28. Swimming. 29. Hunting, Hawking,
30. Suretiship, Trusting. 31. Publick Faith. 32. Bargaining.

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*The Second Part.*

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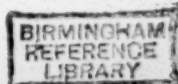
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FRANCIS OSBORN Esq;

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Printed for A. and J. Churchill. 1700.



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*The Stationer to the Reader, concerning  
this Second Part of Advice to a Son.*

**O**UR *Author*, from whom I formerly presented you with a *Rope of smaller Pearls*. viz. his *Advisoes* shredde*d* in a more coherent and *Exact Method*, doth now offer these *Bigger* ones to your acceptance single and loose; which as they are in *Magnitude*, so may you not unpossibly rate them at a like proportionable *Value*. Something of *Confusion*, you know is taken as a Symbol of *Greatness*: But I shall only, in the *Author's* Vindication, preacquaint you, That a Piece of this Nature, will not thereby be of the less *solid advantage* unto you, who may begin and leave off where you please: These being, in all Hands, like *Cards*, more delightful, if not useful, shuff*l*ed, than in *suits*; through which all sorts may be tempted to *Read them over*, and (so) not improbably gain a *Knowledge* they would never have sought for, but upon such an omission: Wherefore whether you consider the whole *Pack*, or do but draw here and there, you shall be a *Winner*. And the *Author himself* may have the more time to employ upon somewhat else in order to your *Service*, being freed from the trouble of any *nicer sorting these Aphorisms*; which really considered, is but the *Pedantick Part* of the *Writer*, and of most use, where there is least *intrinsic worth* in a *Book* to commend it self: The *speciousness* of the *Form* not seldom betraying the *Reader's Judgment* to the swallow*ing* such *sordid and refuse Matter*, as would be found but a *gilded Dog's* — if taken in *Pieces* and thoroughly *Examined*.

To my dear Brother William Draper, Esq; of Nether-  
worton in Oxfordshire.

SIR,

**S**ince it is become a general Custom to affix before Books the Names of the Authors best Friends, I could not without calling in question so manifest a Truth as your Desert, and running the hazard of being esteemed ungrateful my self, but present you with what follows: For which (however it fares) I shall descend no lower in my desires, than that your Name may remain as perpetual a Monument to my Merit, as I am confident it will prove to your Goodness, which can never die or be out of credit; whereas Books are during one Age neatly Bound and choicely Preserved, and the next, condemned to the basest of Employments. Nor had I ever exposed my self to the danger of a present Censure, no less than a future Contempt, but that I gain by waiting a diversion from Discontent, the highest Felicity my Fortune ever gave me leave yet to enjoy: Who, notwithstanding the cold Commendation Authors find during their Lives, shall venture so far on the Constancy of my own Fortune (which some are pleased to call Desert) and the World's Judgment, as to peep abroad again upon my single Security, without so much as desiring your Protection, tho' a frequent Petition in such like Epistles, or borrowing Commendations from my Acquaintance, more ready to lend me their good Word, than I was yet able to deserve it, which doth not seldom betray the Reader into the Purchase of an ill Book; or at best, gratifies his expectation no more than a base and rotten Inn can a Traveller, because prefaced by a gawdy Sign-post. All I beg is, that in case it comes short of former Applause, you would consider Me, not your Self, as the Party abused. And not weigh your Acceptance or my Will to Serve you at the common Beam, but by the Standard of your Love, in which you have so far exceeded those of my own Blood, as I cannot but acknowledge you, and subscribe my self

Your most Affectionate Brother,

FRANCIS OSBORN.

T O

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# TO THE READERS.

**D**I D all your Heads own a like Mode and Figure, they could not but be fitted with something here might give the Buyer satisfaction for the Price of the Book; but you are found in the generality, so contrary to the Camelion (a true Emblem of Hypocrisie, Levity and Sophistication) as not to take the Colour for what you judge, from the Tincture of Sense and Reason, but the py'd and contaminated Constructions fuming from Brains suborned out of Interest, or a contrary practice to Condemn of Error, Ignorance or Irreligion, all things tho' never so modestly proposed, they suit not with their Breeding, or fall not within the narrow Circle of their Understanding. An unsociable Lunacy that lies as far below my Notice, as Fortune, which hath also advanced me (maugre such contrary Endeavours) in the Opinions of Sublimer Spirits, not only beyond an ordinary esteem, but the highest I could ever be tempted to carry of my self. Wherefore tho' I have formerly numbred it amongst the lowest Impertinencies, to forestal a Reader's Acceptance by any other Courtship than the choicest endeavour to give him plenary Satisfaction; yet I cannot think it suitable with Gratitude to pass unregarded so much as hath already been shewn, or to doubt of the like in future; not to be done without calling in question the Constancy, if not the Judgment of a considerable part of the Nation. And from hence, and no Merit of my own, I do implore this Favour, that in case any have formerly, or may hereafter be led into Scandal through a sinister Construction of what

*To the Readers.*

*I have Writen, as dissonant from the Church of England (tho' a Question I find, if relating to any, it is rather to others Consciences than mine own) you would excuse, or pass it over as an accidental Lapse, or which I hope is truer, a meer Mistake, rather arising from a too high Presumption on the Reader's Charity, than any real Defect in mine own; who ever thought it a less Impiety to limit Reason than Faith.*

*If these Aphorisms (which I protest I pick'd out of waste Papers long since thrown by) appear unsutable to the Times (perhaps sooner led through Enthusiasms than Theorems) I own not a Forehead bold enough to deny it. Nor did I intend that my Name or Merit should have ever become the Argument of Discourse, but that I found it impossible to conceal it: The Hope of which, and not Ostentation drew me first to the Press; as want of a more profitable Employment tempts me, being made bold through Custom, to feed it.*

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A D.



# ADVICE to a SON

## The Second Part.

**T**H O' it may without question be reckoned amongst Solomon's *Common Places of Vanity*, yet *The Proem* nothing in this World appears more *Natural* or affects *Imagination* with greater *Delight*, than the hope Men have their Names may extend towards *Eternity*; the essential Cause of the most, if not all the Good and Evil we find done, by pious *Benefactors* or destructive *Tyrants*; whatsoever the first may pretend in relation to *Religion*, or the latter suffer in reference to *Policy*. The *Propagation of Fame*, tho' confessed *flauntant Humor*, being hardly to be found absent from *Fortitude* and *Charity*, or any other *Virtue*, to *Martyrdom* it self. *Glory* being the most acceptable thing we can enjoy here, or hope for hereafter; the Aim both of the *Covetous* and *Prodigal*, the *Valiant* and *Coward*; the one seeking to gain it through the *exposing*, the other by a more wary *preservation* of his *Life* and *Estate*, all running through *contrary ways*, after the gawdy *Ball of Fame*; which tho' every one desires to find his Name *Ingraven* upon, yet none out-reach the *Records of Paper*, *Writing* being the most approved *Recipe*, yet discovered against *consuming Oblivion*, which infects the *Actions* of the best of *Princes*, and benights those of the worst; who do not seldom owe their *Repute* to *Strangers*. Wherefore since there cannot be a more innocent and probable way to dilate a *Remembrance* beyond the *Banks of Forgetfulness*, than *Books*; why may not I (indebted to none but my own dear-bought *Experience*) be allowed

lowed the *Vanity* (if capable of such a Title) to *affix my Name* (since unable to build it a more lasting *Monument*) before these *Papers*? where it may live, if rescued out of the over-officious and strict Hands of *Contemporaries*, the most severe *Censurers* of the *Writings* of the present *Age*, who in the Absence of other juster *Pre- tences*, will rather (than want Matter for *Reproof*) with the *Maligners* of the *Prophet Daniel*, pick something to carp at, in relation to *God* or the *Magistracy*; Tho' none are less busie in arraigning the *Lapses* of *Power*, or remain more obedient to the *Toke* of *Government*, than such as know there can be no *Safety* or *Property* without it. Yet many half-witted-Men, presuming on the single Warrant of their own purblind *Judgments*, do not only overstride the Opinion of the *Major Part* for *Number* and *Weight*, but the Dictates of their own *Conscience*; who cannot but know, if they have any *Knowledge* at all, that the *Wisdom*, to which *Solomon* *Perswades* no less than *Adorns* with so many *Divine Epithites*, voting it the *Companion* of the *Almighty*, *Artificer* of *Nature*, and without whose *Assistance* nothing ever was, or is, of that hath been made. The *Director* of *Angels* in the *Preservation* of *Man*, and the *Tutor* of *Man* to all the *Understanding* a *Creature* is able to comprehend in reference to its *Maker*, is thereby blasphemed in her *Children*, no less than her *King* reproached; as if the *Followers* of the *Paths* to *Heaven* could be *Leaders* to *Hell*, or not rather *Heirs* of the rich *Donative* our Blessed *Saviour* gives to all shall knock and seek at the *Gates* of *Eternal Knowledge*; where no *Voice* is intelligible but that of *Wisdom*, the *Dialect* of *God*. Nor did I ever yet meet the owner of so impudent a *Presumption*, amongst all the *Recorders* of *Reason*, as durst venture our dull and callous *Knowledge* against the *Activity* of an *Eagle-wing'd Faith*; but do confess a little claudication in their *Understandings* as *Jacob* found in his *Leg*, after a *Wrestling* with his *Maker*. Yet since *Saint Paul* draws the *Bill* of *Indictment* out of the *Book* of *God's Univer-*

sal

*sal Goodness* (to none legible, but through the Light of Reason) it cannot but afford Cause to magnifie the *Eternal Mercy* towards *Christians*, in giving them *Faith* to regulate their *Works*, and support their *Wisdom*, without which it becomes *foolishness* to God; wherefore in no other Sense capable of the Name of Knowledge.

2. Neglect or dissemble the receipt of any Injury, till Time measure you out a competent proportion of Charity to forgive, or so much Power as may requite or condemn it; lest you convert into a Habit, or irreconcilable Enmity, such Words or Actions as might not unpossibly at first, result from no more bitter a Root than Chance or Mistake in you both. Wherefore no Prudence, to put the worst Construction on all you hear or see, as such peevish and melancholy Constitutions do, who like Glasses retain in their Fancies, as merely relating to themselves, the Reflections of all things pass in their Presence. For since the Eyes, Tongues and Looks, are the Windows and Doors no less than Interpreters of the Hearts of Men, and so the business of Wisdom, to keep every thing from breaking out, that may be safer hid than revealed: It implies a like Caution ought to be had in reference to that is suffered to enter. Nor doth it want of a through Inspection into this, seldom spoil the Affairs of Princes, no less than meaner Men's; who by measuring the Persons Will to advance or depress their Designs, accord to such Hopes and Fears as they calculate proportionable to their own former desert or inconsiderate opinion of the party, mar their Market, not only through a too great Confidenc to receive at need all the Friendship they have dearly paid for, but an over-jealousie of ill from such as they look upon in their Apprehensions as disoblighd. The Exchange of Courtesies or Injuries running high or low, not according to an exact proportion of Equity, but the value, 'tis rated at in the Esteem of the Receiver. Thus the old Earl of *Essex*, by placing

The precipitate Revenge, no prudence.



a greater Confidence in the Citizens of *London*, where he spent his Revenue, than in *Wales*, from whence he Received, it denudated himself of the most probable Protection the extremity of his bad Fortune had left him. His Tenants and Friends being more likely to have proved Cordial at a distance from the Court, than those found to gather their Livelihood under the Shadow of it; and so more probable to Increase, than Raise, a Power first in his Favour. Which maturely weighed, proves the Study of Friends, and Enemies, the most Politick and Useful Imployment.

*No Enemy  
so contemptible,  
as to  
be despised.*

3. Despise no Enemy, especially at Court; For where Jealousie holds the Scales, a small dram of Detraction will turn the Beam. Men's Lives no less than Fortunes being so unsteady, as they lie obnoxious to Blasting by the Breath of far meaner Persons than themselves; who making use of all Advantages do not rarely bring greater Strength, Wisdom and Innocency than their own to destruction; so that the World hath been abused through an often repeated Tradition, if a Fool of State did not help to anticipate the Death of a hopeful Prince. And if the Endeavours of Malice and Revenge be thus prevalent in a Court, where Civility and Law pretend at least to Command; how prejudicial must the neglect of this Caution appear in the Field where nothing but *Passion* is obeyed, and all Advantages conducing to Safety, allowed in Prudence, if not Honour? And where Fortune to exercise the dominion she usurps over Strength, and Probability, suffered a Dwarf not long since to kill a Man. This makes me admire the Valor more than discretion of an acquaintance of mine, that met an Armed Enemy in a formal and premeditated Duel with a Wooden Dagger and a rebated Rapier. I confess this gallant Soul did worst him; which appear'd less, because no more than his contempt engaged him to. But if Chance (the Lady of such events) had turned her face the other way, his honour and prudence, if not Life (seldom ransomed, if at the mercy of a Coward) had been lost in the indiscretion of the

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Action: The generality taking no other prospect of things than through the Event: And under this Topick may be included such as return a disarmed Enemy his Sword, with a number of Follies more incident to a Romantick Valour.

4. *Have Peace with all Men*, is as wholsom an Aphorism in Policy as Divinity. But being incapable of so strict an Observation as in Religion and Prudence it deserves, let me Advise you to shun, or break off all Contests with much inferiour Persons to your self. And because Example receives a more lively Tincture from Memory, than Precept, I shall instance it as a blot in the greatest *Rochet* that did in my time appear in the Court of *England*, or indeed any I ever heard of since the Reformation: Who mannaged a Quarrel with *Archy* the King's Fool, and by endeavouring to explode him the Court, rendred him at last so considerable, by calling the Prelates Enemies (which were not a few) to his rescue, as the fellow was not only able to continue the dispute for divers years, but received such encouragements from the Standers-by, as he hath oft, in my hearing, belched in his Face such miscarriages as he was really guilty of, and might, but for this foul mouth'd *Scot* have been forgotten: Adding such other reproaches of his own, as the dignity of his Calling and greatness of his Parts could not in Reason or Manners admit; tho' so far hoodwink'd with Passion, as not to discern that all the Fool did was but a Symptom of the strong and inveterate Distemper raised long before in the Hearts of his Countrymen against the calling of Bishops; out of whose former Ruins the major part of the *Scottish* Nobility had feathered, if not built their Nests. Nor did this too low placed Anger lead him into a less absurdity, than an endeavour to bring him into the *Star-Chamber*, till the Lord *Coventry* had, by acquainting him with the Priviledge of a Fool, shewn the ridiculousness of the Attempt: Yet not satisfied, he, through the mediation of the Queen, got him at

*To contend with inferiours brings discredit.*

last discharged the Court; whither he brought after the same Mind under a Cloak, as he had before born in his Fools Coat. Nor is it more Wisdom for any, especially Kings, to drive base People into the dark corners of Despair, where they do not only lose the Sense of their own Felicity, in becoming Instrumental to the Malice and Ambition of others, but all Duty and natural Respect to Friends, Religion, and Governors.

*A Friend  
necessary to  
a Courtier.*

5. A true Friend becomes the Fortune of every Profession, but is the most necessary Utensil I did ever observe belonging to a Person at Court; where Eyes are so sealed up and covered with prejudice, Envy, &c. as little Notice is taken of the highest Desert, till through the Approbation of a stander-by they are pointed to it. The Mode of Princes being, as I have often found, to rest better satisfied with others Attestations, than their own. The Cause that in Places, Merit is less vendible at the first than second Hand; proceeding commonly from the Modesty of the Party, which Defect none but a faithful Friend is able to supply. I could name a couple of *Jesuites* (no ways miraculous for Parts, considering the foreign Advantages received from their Relations and Breeding) who did by making it their Business to cry up one the other in all Companies and upon every Occasion, swell themselves to such a Repute, as they became in a short time able to benight the apprehension of a Prince in his own opinion no mean Politician.

*To oblige a  
Prince or  
State, dan-  
gerous.*

6. Tho' it is your Duty no less than Honour to have deserved well of Church or State; yet it may be no unseasonable Advice (*considering how soon the best of Subjects have their Desert expunged by Envy or Forgetfulness, after their Use is over*) to extend Expectation beyond the present Occasion: By which you may have the Hope to continue your Princes Favour, commonly conclusive where Expectation ceaseth. Wherefore the well managing of Merit is none of the weakest Effects of Prudence, because incapable to be restrained within the compass of any general Rules.

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Signal Actions being not seldom so huddled up by Fortune, as they are in a short time forgotten, or much lessened by Sharers and Envy, before the principal Operator is able to make his best Market of them: To whom a brave Achievement hath sometimes proved fatal; *Nothing more terrible in the Eyes of Majesty, than the Apparition of an unrewarded Desert*; whose chiefest Mediators are Shame, Hope or Fear; wherefore he that keeps not all or one of those for his Friend, may expect a Reward from Heaven sooner than Earth. The old Earl of Bristol was none of the most imperfect Scholars in this Lesson; who, through a prodigious dexterity became the *Confident of two Princes*, that drove on, if not contrary, divers Designs. And was at his Return able to appear before the *English Parliament*, where he worsted the greatest Minion, the Folly, Love or Wisdom, of any King since the Conquest ever bred in this Nation.

7. I note it as a great blemish, and so much the more deplorable because not seldom mingled with the *best* <sup>Self-praise</sup> *great im-* parts for a Man to cry up his own Excellencies. Through <sup>prudence.</sup> which, tho' the simple may be led into Admiration, it produceth from the more Judicious, Contempt and Envy: Conjuring up a severer scrutiny into the parties personal Lapses and Natural Imperfections, than Prudence ought to Alarum. *A modest rate put by the Owner upon his peculiar Desert, being the most artificial Medium to multiply Fame.* Tho' the same Aphorisms in Morality, no more than those of Physick are not always found to work the same effects upon all Complexions and Constitutions; the contrary being ordinary through Ignorance, or a Prejudice arising from a different opinion. For let the Speaker utter never so rational and exact a Truth, nothing but what quadrates with the Companies respective understandings and experience, can settle upon him the Hearers Belief: Not seldom better Grati- fied with a probable Lye, than in the serious relation of a more prodigious Truth. The predication of which is not only an Incroachment upon the sole Immunity of Thrones



Thrones and Pulpits, but a dangerous Intrusion upon the elements of Civility; so far as sometimes to produce quarrels, ever disputes: Not in Reason to be looked upon by the Reporter, under a modest notion than a return of the Lye. Nor can such Improbabilities at best, pass their Hearers, without the thoughts of being slighted by the Relator; as owners (in his opinion) of a Credulity capable to be deluded. *And this maturely considered might hang the Lock of a greater restraint upon the Mouths of Travellers, Huntsmen, Mountebanks, &c.* who to render their Professions of more value, than, if brought to the Candle, they might possibly appear to be, do torture their Company with no less Impertinent, than Improbable Relations. And if it were as far warranted by discretion, *To name the Persons that have smutted their Fame through a breach of this Topick*, as is fit to avoid the like excess, you would bless your self to hear the Recital of so many brave Spirits, and such whose Desert is impregnable against the storms of Time, which this Quality hath, to my knowledge, worsted in their Repute, so far as to render them ridiculous in Company; of which I shall leave you this one nameless Example of a Knight, who using to make Multiplying Glasses of what he in his long and great Travels had observed, professed he once conversed with a *Hermit* that was, in the opinion of all Men, able to commute any Metal into Gold with a Stone he kept still hanging at his Girdle; and being asked of *what kind it was*, and not readily answering, the witty Lord of *St. Albans* standing by, said, he did verily believe it was a Whet-stone, &c.

Neither may it be happily amiss here, to dissuade you from all immoderate praise or dispraise of any person or Thing your experience or acquaintance hath had the Fortune to cope withal, lest some in Company, out of an humor of contradiction (no less frequent than odious to Society) or a dissatisfaction, should assume the contrary Cudgel, and by that engage you in an un-

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grateful dispute, or a more destructive and ridiculous Quarrel; as befel an Earl at *Greenwich*, that received some prejudice in his Honour from the Ma. of *Ham*, for crying up the civility of *Spain* higher than that of *England*; which grew at last to such Terms, as might have produced worse Effects, had not the Earls Wisdom directed him to the Throne, &c.

8. Tho' Kings, and Persons in superlative Power, *To jest with Princes not safe.* when loose from serious employments, assume so far the sociable Humors of Humanity, as to break out into *sprightful and facetious extravagancies* with other Courtiers; yet ought not this Freedom to allure them into so high and Familiar a Presumption, as to retaliate the like again, since Scorn or Smart proportionates not its acceptance to the extent of this Innocency and good meaning of the Subject that first gave the occasion, but the Jealousie of the Prince that received it. Such Accidents, tho' they may pass current during the short time of a present Commerce, yet do not fail upon Rumination, and the Tincture, Enemies are found to give all that may advance their Profit and Malice, to change the former superscription of Mirth and impress of Love, into an inveterate Hatred and thirst for Revenge. An Instance hereof appears in *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, none of the least obsequious Observers of the Times; who naturally or rather customarily (since the former may be liable to question) abominating a Frog, had one thrown into his Neck by King *James*; and did in requital cause a Pig (of an equal disgust with the same Prince) to be put under his Close stool; where tho' it produced no extraordinary ill effect for the present, it being as usual a thing with his Majesty to be frightened, as &c. Yet after the Prank (innocent enough in it self) had been discanted upon, and the worst of Interpretations made by some (the Title of *Jews* being at that time usually given to the *Scots*) the King was much affected with it; and the more, because done at *Wilton* under the Earl's own Roof; it remaining always a  
Natural

Natural or Usurped *Prerogative in Princes*, if not of all in Power, to put *their particular Sense on the Words and Actions of inferior Persons*. Wherefore he that relates wholly to the Honour or Friendship of his Prince, had need of more Patience and Circumspection than doth ordinarily attend a Free Birth, or such as remain galled through any foreign Discontent or Anxiety, which renders the Patient tucky and unadvised.

*Counsel to be  
given with  
Caution.*

9. It is not prudence, through contrary Counsel, to tamper over-much in the Miscarriages of others not relating to your own Interest, especially if absolutely flown beyond all recovery of Prevention: For tho', like Physick, it may appear of wholesome Consequence for the Future, it remains at the present of no good favour to the Party, and renders the sight of him it is received from, ungrateful. Wherefore with much caution, if at all to be Administred to People of Quality, who do not seldom instead of doubling their own Circumspection, only place a stricter Watch upon the Informer, in hope to pay him in the same Coin, never Current but amongst those of choise and candid Natures: Counsel implying, in most Peoples Opinions, *an overprizing your own Judgment, and debasing of others.*

*To laugh at  
a mischance  
uncharitably.*

10. It is no less violation of Friendship, than Charity, to laugh when another by accident falls into a Mischance; and hath proved, in my Experience, the original of many Quarrels, and bred a strangeness between Persons before very Intimate in Affection. Wherefore it ought to be refrained towards People of mean quality, lest custom should render it more difficult to abstain from it, if the same fortune becomes the Lot of a greater Man or dearer Acquaintance; as it fell out at the New Lodge by *Barnet*; where, after a great Dinner, King *James* walking out, and something neglected by such as led him, stumbling at a *Mole-Hill*, fell down, and mannaged his Legs after so ridiculous a posture as many of the Company could not hold from Laughter; which his Majesty took so ill, as he called them

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them Traytors, and protested Revenge; nor would he suffer any of them to take him up, till Mr. *John West* the Keeper, at whose House and Charge the Entertainment was, came, and by a witty Conceit (of which he was full) fetched them off: Swearing, *no good Subject could refrain to rejoyce at his Majesties activity, to see him so nimble, as to come over and over*: Now tho' this Buffoonery did for the present seem to compound for the real folly of the rest, that had seen and forgot many things the Court might have learned them; yet the King did remember some of them, as no well-wishers to his continuance in being, but rather inclining to, &c. To conclude, if it was thought manners by our Ancestors, not to be covered whilest another Sneezed, it can be no Charity or Discretion to Laugh when he is likely to break his Neck.

II. It becomes not Charity no more than Discretion, to upbraid others with such Imperfections, as may by accident fall to, or accompany People from their Birth: No more in the Owners power to help, than it lies in the Scorners ability to shield his own Person or issue from falling into a like Disaster: *None being so precisely happy, as not sooner or latter, in their Bodies, Minds, Families, or Estates, to receive some blemish, if not an ugly mulct from the Hand of Fortune; to whose injuries the best Men are subject during this Life.*

But that which appears the highest Injustice is the imputation of Bastardy, in no Nation looked upon under so great a notion of Reproach, as amongst the *English*; tho' for the most part recompensed with the Richest Indowments. For if a Fault, it belongs solely to the Parents; wherefore the less discernible through what Organ of Equity, any more than an ordinary humane contamination should attach the Child. Since the single Security of a Wife (of no great validity in other things) is the chief authentick proof we can produce for the integrity of these we esteem most Legitimate. From whence we may learn how to rate their Malice,



Malice, That missing of matter considerable to traduce the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, rake in her Birth for the Faults (if capable to be called so) of her Father. Forgetting, no such thing as Bastardy, in relation to plurality of Wives and Concubines, can be allowed in Nature, without aspersing the Patriarchs and People of God; Wherefore the contrary Custom cannot be of validity enough to question the Descent of a Prince, whose Possession of the Crown is not only sufficient to create a Title, but what Ceremony (in all things not diametrically opposite to the apparent dictates of God) shall be imposed upon the Subject. Monarchs themselves remaining discharged and incapable of limitation by Custom or any Law that is but merely respective to Decency and Order; so as King *James* and his Son tho' the highest Indulgers of the Ecclesiastical Canons and Institutions, Have often to my knowledge so far dispensed with the Legal hours appointed for Matrimony, as to exchange them from Morning to Night; things merely Complemental vanishing in the presence of the Supream Magistrate. Nor was any thing in the most rigid opinion wanting to her Legitimation, but a Dispensation, *professed by all Historians, Signed, Sealed and sent into England.* Now tho' the Pope did retract it, out of Reason of State, and dread of *Charles V.* whose Aunt Queen *Catherine* was, I presume the Holy Ghost, under the protection of whom *his Holiness assumes the Power of not erring, can in no Mans opinion be thought to repent the approving what none but an impudent Malice is able to question, the Lawfulness of Kings* being in all places left to a greater Liberty, than Subjects may in a stricter Sense be liable to. It remaining implorable to conjecture, that *Henry VIII.* should Repudiate so Virtuous a Lady out of a less trivial desire than the obtaining the Nations Quiet, and prevent Civil War; by leaving behind him an *Heir of his Body*. But to lay aside such babbles, only considerable with Children and Fools, he had the consent of all uninterested Divines



beyond Seas, together with a considerable number of the most Learned in his own Church; from whom there is no Natural, if a just Appeal to any but God, or an Impartial Council, *a Phoenix not likely to be found, till the old Man of sin be consumed, and our Saviour in his own Person become Monarch of the whole Earth.* Thus when the Gall of Interest and Malice becomes mingled with Ink, it doth not only blot and disfigure the Beauty of Truth, but the Honour of all Authors that endeavour to maintain it.

12. Some Families are noted of a Propensity more to Folly, Lust, Infelicity, Stammering, &c. Others to Beauty, Temperance, Modesty, Probity, Hospitality, with many respective mulcts and benevolences in Nature. The Causes of which may be easier sought for, than found amongst the perfections and blemishes of Ancestors. Since the Belly being changed upon every Descendant, it remains little probable the Burden should retain the same marks from any more occult quality than Imitation: As may be guessed from an Honourable Family, noted for many Generations to Stutter, and another that retained a Cast with their Eyes: Both which may in my Opinion, be attributed in more probability to the effects of an ordinary Commerce than any quality inherent in their Nature.

The longer than ordinary succession of great Lips observed in the House of Austria, cannot appear a Miracle to any that considers they have not, for many Ages, Married out of their nearest Kinred. I note this, not only to guard you from Jealousie, the most impertinent Devil Fancy can be at any time haunted with: but to prevent falling into the common Error both of the Ancient and Modern Philosophers, that ground Conclusions upon bare Report, or at best, single Experiments, which Exposeth them to easie Confutations: Manifest in Pliny, &c.

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13. If it be the highest Advantage deducible from the Study of Philosophy, *Calmly to bear the affronts of Fortune*, how can the depth of their Indiscretion be fathomed, that, *absolved from Personal Causes of Discontent*, extract the Spirit of Anxiety out of such remote Accidents, as Custom, not Nature hath laid in the way of Humane Felicity, through which we become more unadvised than Beasts. And amongst these many be numbered the *immoderate desire of, and care for Children*; in some so ridiculous and intemperate, as to let themselves and their Families (of which they are part) to want all things for the present, (the only time we can call ours) out of hope to leave them something after their death: which doth prove as often too much as too little. Since through this excess (like an over-proportion of Bias on a Bowl) they are led out of all care for greater preferment, or becoming better than at first they were left: who quite unacquainted with the use of Money, are as far to seek how to improve, as decently to spend it. Yet in my apprehension, no perturbation bears the Marks of a more ridiculous Folly than lies patent in an impertinent Jealousie, in relation to Women; no more able to ransom their Repute out of the hands of Detraction, than the Patient is to gratifie his Curiosity with a pleasanter Recipe than an apparent Detection. Thus, by snatching up Negative Evil we render ourselves insensible of any positive Good: Like Children, who if dispossessed or denied the gauds of others, will in a peevish humour throw away their own. Nor are we seldom cast into a present trouble, out of the contemplation of *Mischief's not yet arrived*: *The things we fear resembling so far those we desire, that for the most part they seem greater at a distance, than nearer hand*: From whence the Mind may be judged as crazed and infirm as the Body, and no less affected with Vapours. Nor are these Distempers so frequent in vulgar and empty Heads, as those stuffed with Learning; a meer Drug, and in this, like *Rhubarb, whose Operations are far more effectual*

effectual upon a slight infusion than taken in the Mass; not seldom observed rather to obstruct than open the Organs of Understanding, which ought not to be crammed faster than she is able to concoct, nor kept in a Coop without taking the prospect of all worldly experience; A rude quantity of Intricate notions being apter to augment Sail, than Ballast: the major part of Learning appearing like Diamonds, richer in splendor than use: And cannot, alone, and unassisted by the conversation of all sorts of Professions measure out the true and Mathematical Latitude of earthly felicity, not prohibited by, though bounded within the compass of reason; in whose absence it is either lost in excess, or smothered in restraint; flattered into the first through Voluptuousness, and confined to the other by Law and Education; which makes them to suspect all things pleasant, of Sin, whereas the contrary is more likely to be natural. Since at long running, others more indulged by Policy, are found to meet at the same Market, or a worse. And to draw us with more ease into the Iron Traps of Infelicity and Restraint, they bate them with the Scraps of a broken hope and childish allurements, that our Fathers were caught before us. Yet the wily Priests, quite discharged of the Lumber of a Family, and all Oppression incident to a Secular life, cannot but enjoy the most felicity, vainly sought under any but a free condition, which all enjoy so far as they are willing, or left able by others to unconcern themselves of the world: which no protection can so totally perform as that of the *Roman Church*, in which like a Cave or Grotto, such of the Ecclesiasticks as are any way superintendent over others, are situated under as moderate an aspect during the Sun-shine of Prosperity, as the storms of an adverse fortune; the thunders of war (I mean till this sulphurous age) seldom breaking out over their Cells. But now since the blood of the Saints together with their names are expunged, the Gates and



Doors of the Sanctuary, Good Works have lost their value, and nothing more in esteem than new Opinions. Wherefore since in the absence of a protection from the Altar, nothing remains without able to secure us quite from the sense of Oppression, let us turn our endeavours towards such remedies as Prudence and Philosophy are found to prescribe us. And according to our advice, pack up our hopes and fears into as narrow a room as we can possibly, by which we shall render the last more portable, and the first less tedious. And in reference to this, all affections beyond the degrees of a natural and compelled Necessity, or any thing likely to dilate them, are warily to be avoided, during the best times, as contrary to felicity; and in the worst, as obstructors of the ways to evasion, The most useful Knack belonging to the Engine of Life.

*Patience  
and Moderation  
most necessary in  
humane  
life.*

14. No Vertues deserve to be more indulged, both in our selves and others, than Patience and Moderation: The first being no less requisite to arm us against the open Hostility of Fortune, than the other to guard us from the excesses that do usually accrue to such as are placed in the gaudy Pageant of her favour, and therefore kept in compass with the greater difficulty, because bounded by no more foreign or external a check than the Party is able to give out of the strength of his own Judgment, prompted by an experience had of her uncertain Carriage, whereas ill Luck (or to speak more Christian) a seeming desertion of the benignity of Providence, is rendred much the more supportable through an absolute Necessity, and so under an unavoidable restraint, rather imposed than voluntarily submitted to. The rarest precedent for Moderation I ever met with, was the last Bishop of London, who extracted by the Chymistry of this Mountebank Deity, and Alembicked through a number of great Mutations, from one of the meanest of Vicars, to the highest of Treasurers, was in none of them elevated above the Meridian of the ground he first stood on,

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or did debauch through the miscarriage the dignity of place he passed through: Nor did he suffer with a more sullen brow, the breaking of all the Glasses this pious Goddeffs had blown in his favour; but did after the Curtains were drawn, and the Tragedy acted, without any visible reluctancy turn his eyes towards the same Landskip of Country pleasures, he had, as it were, against his will, been taken from. I have (dear Son) but named him, whom I esteem fit to be placed in your heart for the best pattern of Moderation I ever met with, as he might have remained for patience, had he not been eclipsed through the far greater sufferings of a Person more splendid, and no less miraculous in this Vertue, as none can attest better than this Prelate, whose Patron he was.

15. I find the Oeconomicks, though most useful to Being, the least esteem'd with our Gallants; looked upon by some as trivial, by others as dishonourable and unbecoming a Masculine Employment; yet a total neglect of them may be found in experience the ruin of the greatest Families in *England*, as their more exact prosecution keeps up mens Estates in *Italy*; where the Inhabitants are celebrated as most generally wise, and therefore not unfitly proposed in this for an universal pattern, but where they border too near the Confines of penury and baseness, most unbecoming the Custom and Plenty of *England*; and where, in this particular (till the Sword received a Commission from God to devour all things good and honourable in the Land) our Noblemen equalled the Princes, and our King exceeded in Hospitality all the Monarchs in the known World: And might yet have done more, had the true Elements of Thrift been maintained in an equal proportion, by providing all things at the best hand, and making use of Times and Seasons; In which I confess so much as purely belongs to Housewifery, ought, if not in discretion, yet in reverence to Custom, to be left to Women, provided

vided they own abilities competent for the employment: which is yet sometimes so far contradicted by Experience, as the first Leak of a Husbands fortune is found to rise in the Kitchen, and such Rooms as a Man of quality cannot decently visit. Nor is there a better way patent to obviate this falling into a Hectick, through such a disentry, than by an equal ballancing all weekly accounts; never noted by Wisdom any more blemish to honour than to know how many Horses he keeps in the Stable, a place that cannot be denied to be made, by Use rather than Reason, more becoming his presence than the Pastry or Larder: Nor is the Keeping of a regulated expence (magnified rather than decried in the highest Courts of Wisdom) Neglected so much out of Scorn as Defect, Fathers, especially Rich ones, being so far to learn themselves what is most fit their Children should be taught, as they keep them so long in their Latin School, till the time is lapsed most proper for Reading, and to make a Perfect Accomptant: The most necessary part of the Mathematicks, and so much as cannot be in any commerce spared. It remaining indubitable, that none so industrious as to call himself to a weekly, or at least an annual reckoning, did ever through his own default spend an Estate. Whereas the want of this first rudiment of Thrift, hath within the compass of my experience, brought divers to a bit of Bread, and demolished the Houses of the most Ancient Gentry of *England*. Now if any desire to understand how our more illiterate Fathers came to escape this Curse; an Answer lies ready, That the greatest part of their Revenues did consist in provisions of all sorts, paid punctually at a day, and so easily accounted for and remembered. And this abundance they enjoyed, kept them pleased and in friendship with their Estates, wanting neither company nor respect; through which they became less liquorish after the glory and small delights of *London*, and the Court: towards which they did seldom

*Arithmetick the most necessary part of Mathematicks.*

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eldom look, but upon constraint; having never tasted them in Youth, as now they do, the only time to contract an affection to any place or thing. So as what we call the Breeding of our Gentry, is the main Reason of their undoing; the glorious aspects the City affords rendring the more solid Pleasures of the Country contemptible and distastful. And thus infatuated, from the hope of a redemption by an Office or Wife, they drop into an Ocean of Debts, between the Scylla and Charybdis of a *London* and Country-House; which for want of moderating their expence (a thing Arithmetick is the readiest, if not the only means to Reform) it becomes no less terrible to look upon in relation to solitute and dilapidations, than unsafe to abide in, for fear of the Sheriff. But however this may prove good counsel to others, it is of small concernment to you; who I thank God, are of another temper and a more Mathematical Education.

16. Great Wealth is not seldom the birth-right of Fools, being for the most part a result of the Fathers covetousness: And therefore found more easy *Great* for such Heirs to double, than to expend with honour, *wealth* decency, and moderation so much of it as is fit to be *sometimes* allotted for Hospitality, out of vast Revenues. The *a square,* most likely reason why the Families of Citizens are consumed through Prodigality, or bear to Posterity the marks of baseness, because unacquainted with the true Elements of House-keeping, through an equal mixture and moderate temper of which, Honour comes to be generated in the opinion of the World: There appearing as wide a difference (for the most part) betwixt a Gentleman of blood, and one of Fortune, as lies between the confines of Moderation and Excess. From whence it often chanceth that Mechanick wealth doth become rather a misfortune than a blessing, by procuring not only Diseases, but bringing Bravoes and Trapanners like Drones and Wasps into the Houses of such ignorant Gallants, as by reason



son of a low breeding are not able to apprehend what is convenient, or take the true height of their acquaintance, and an exact survey of what company may with decency and safety be kept. From whence we may conclude it easier to attain Wealth, than the Wisdom to spend it without transgressing the rules of moderation, or falling upon the extreams of baseness and excess.

*No relation besides a Father to be confided in.*

17. Sad experience hath, amongst others, left me this unquestioned Legacy, That no Relation below a Father is to be confided in by Younger Children. The fear of having their Jointure questioned, Obliging a partiality in Widows towards their First-born; a Term more pernicious to the major part of Mankind, than the destruction of it might possibly prove to the persecutors and oppressors of the Children of God: These Gypsies (found commonly Slaves to their Wives or Vices) and performing their task in this World under a richer Canopy of Honour than some of their younger Brethren ever stood near, have, besides the Cruelties and unnatural burdens they lay upon them, through their power and a bare deception in Law, converted into stubble the straw their most charitable Fathers left their Brethren to cover them withal. And for Uncles, &c. their Eyes are so intent upon the splendor of the House, as they oversee, out of fear or ambition, all but the top branch, commonly the weakest.

But lest Interest should transport me into a general declamation against the most Noble part of the Nation, out of a particular experience of the ill Natures of some; I shall conclude with an advice to put all younger Children to such courses as may protect them from undoing by the worst of Heirs. It being unlikely the Laws of *England* should stand unbent in their favour, so long as they remain the major part in all Parliaments, and have not thoroughly surveyed the ways to Infelicity and Ruin. And for Daughters,

they

they do not seldom prove miserable through great Portions; which causes snares to be laid for them in every place; they becoming the lot of Serving-men, or Roysters: or in case the old Churl attains a more honourable design, though perhaps less discreet (it not being a rarity in Custom to see such despised, and their Mony and Estates spent to feed others more acceptable, though less rich.) A Lady thus created out of a Daughter (of these ordinary Insect Generations) proving in the generality the most despicable animal breathing.

Great portions a snare to Daughters.

18. Nothing is expunged with more difficulty than the Lines *Custom* and *Education* have formerly drawn in the credulity of Youth; which through a no less Indiscreet than Imperceptible Insinuation, renders all other usances and Opinions distastful, and not seldom Atheistical, belonging to any Climate or Inculcation but that under which they had the fortune to be born; like Parrots, that only applaud themselves, and in the mean time proclaim all others Fools or Knaves, upon no more authentick Warrant, than that they have done it, and were taught so to do from their Infancy. A Habit resembling Beauty, which though but Skin deep, doth for the most part prevail against Reason her self: Taught by the generality (as Children do the Bells) to comply with the Fancy, and not the Imagination to submit to the real Sense. Wherefore such Variety of Judgments can be no prodigy where Truth and Falsehood are weighed at so unsteady a Beam. And if any thing could prove able to make good the Advantage asserted to be found in the Wisdom of precedent Ages above the present, I should rather seek it in the Restraint and Confinement the Tyranny of Custom keeps us under, than any defect in ability or poverty of Nature; not observed to be more prodigal in one Age than another. Though confessed sometimes to make Wisdom and Judgment so Itinerant, as to pass from place to place; and may not unpossibly quit our

The Tyranny of Custom constraint to the process of knowledge.

Horison, when it shall be again Night with us, and the same dismal Cloud of Ignorance impend *England*, as is now known to hover over those former elegant People of *Greece*. But if the profit of some, and fear of others be still able to manacle the Hands, and shackle the Feet of such as are in pursuit after Reason, by confining them within that narrow compass of our Ancestors discoveries, how is it likely this Generation should equal the former, whose Cogitations were freely allowed to expatiate in the wide Fields of Philosophy, and to implead all things at the bar of Reason, thought guilty of Falshood without giving Scandal, or receiving Blame? Whereas the Authors of these Times want not only their Rewards and Impunity, but lie under a severer Censure for vindicating some probable Truths, than they were expos'd to for all their Mistakes: witness *Galilaeus*, &c. To conclude, it is no more suitable to Prudence, for a Man to hazard his Credit for the advancement of others Knowledge, than 'tis likely to improve them, or satisfy himself by a bare repetition of what hath been said many hundred Years since, though perhaps never believed till these latter and more credulous Ages had rendred it vendible under the protection of Silence or Restraint.

*The Secrets of State not to be proftrated to the Vulgar.*

19. Moon-ey'd Horses, whose light is said to increase, or wain suitable to the flux or reflux of that mad Planet, blanch and start more by Day than Night, not out of any real Deformity residing in the Object, but their Sense; which renders them of a far more pernicious concernment, when they are able to lead, than kept under a capacity fit only to follow and obey. And this is not meerly verifed by experience in reference to Schismatics, and the owners of Fanatick Opinions concerning Religion, but all half-witted Persons else from the Prince in the Throne to the Doctor in the Chair. Lukewarmness being as Nauseous to Policy as Religion, and as likely to vomit out and defile the old and decent Government of a Kingdom as a Church.

In



In mistaking Enthusiasms for Prophecies, Memory for Conscience, and Anger for Zeal; by none better understood than the Romans, who to draw this popular Monster from approaching the *Arcana* of State, (not possibly to remain always in so serene a temper, and under such an exact discipline as may admit a through inspection of the Multitude without danger.) They never ceased feasting their fancies at home with Spectacles of pleasure (in some of which they placed Religion, catching with one bait, both the prophane and superstitious) and macerating abroad their Martial humours at the Conquest and Expence of the Barbarians (as they in a no less high than false Arrogancy stiled all but themselves) gaining through the Mediation of Stage-plays and Gladiators the same, if not a greater advantage than the Grand Seignior draws from a multitude of Wives and the unanimous inclination of his Priests: whereas the *Romans* never owned any Profession of so insinuating a temper as to cover Hypocrisie, nor any Enthusiasms (yet did all with an unanimous consent acknowledg God) as were ever found to produce Rebellion, a sin recorded by Truth it self to be worse than witch-craft, and therefore not unpossibly the cause why the Devil was so earnest of old with the Jews, and is now so busie with the Christians to make them commit it.

Stage-Plays a good diversion of the People.

It is ordinary with Custom, Education, and Ignorance, the Three Grand Impostors of the World, to face the Peoples Conscience with some specious pretence, to hoot and cast stones at every Profession, but what practice hath rendred familiar to themselves; whilst the more intrinsick knack of the work intends solely Honour, Profit, and Ease of the Magistracy; The Center, towards which all things approved of, do by a Natural or Impulsive force, tend. It being unpossibile the Pope, together with the Friers, &c. should keep up the price of their sophisticated wares, daily uttered, were not the passage to Heaven straitned,

The toleration of contrary opinions dangerous.

ned, and all other ways obstructed but through their Institutes; of which the credit would be much impaired, should the Protestants tenets and theirs be thought indifferent. Nor is it more possible for a Civil Magistrate to carry the Scepter steady, where the winds of contrary Doctrines are observed to blow. From whence it is become not only the endeavour of *Rome*, but Reason of State to maintain those customs that appear useful, as relating to Salvation, and under a no less imperious an injunction than the Command of God: yet not able to extend a punishment for a breach of them, beyond Death, the only prerogative of our Maker. Nor can Magistracy in prudence be blamed for promoting all means tending to unity, or Subjects commended that seek to disturb them, who ought rather to conceal all Opinions contrary to that generally confessed, or remove their persons to other places where they find them with more safety indulged, than by divulging them to kindle a contrary zeal in the people which in a small time converts into Hypocrisie, the demolisher of all things Humane and Divine; being able to promote, under the specious pretence of the service of God, the foulest ends, Covetousness, Malice, or Ambition were ever found to point at. Wherefore all distinctions are, or may be hereafter thought dangerous in a State, to the several Orders of Friers, who though observed to agree amongst themselves, are in sharp contests with other Covents and Fraternities: so as Christendom may be wakened into an Admiration how his Holiness should pretend to an Infallibility, and not be able to decide whether our Lady lay under the universal pollution, or was conceived and born immaculate. The maintaining and controverting of which hath already wasted Candle and Paper, and may come one day to Blood, as the Regulars and Jesuits have hardly refrained from. Nor need we go to *Rome* for examples in this kind, since the truth of this is confirmed in the Jars arising between Towns-

men

men and Scholars, one College and another; though under the Institutes of one and the same *Aristotle* and Government; which maturely considered, may serve to put the best construction on all we find of use in Church or State.

21. There is an extent in Wit, Learning, Civility, Honour, and all other Felicities, no less than in Conquest; which neither *Greece*, *Rome*, *Goth*, *Vandal*, nor any other Nation, Person, or Commonalty delighting in Virtue, or Rapine, were ever in any Age yet found able to exceed: The Reason that many did draw a Calculation for the late *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*'s Fortune from the Lines of his success, and the miraculous dexterity he used before he met with any considerable Opposition; Though not quite divested of second Causes. The least of which did not lie in the Imperial Imprudence, where a demonstration of a will to Inslave *Germany* was discovered before provision was made of a Power likely to effect it. The reason such as adhered to *Cesar*, were no less remiss, than those that opposed him, vigorous in their Prosecutions. But in relation to that is at this time more current in my Fantasy, All extreams whether in Virtue or Vice may be reckoned as a Portent of the ruin of a People, and amongst these an excess in Learning and Hypocrisy, the results of a too high indulged Zeal are the most Vocal, and do not seldom like *Castor* and *Pollux* appear mingled with the sails upon the change of weather. Though the flames of Superstition are in this more destructive than they are merely natural and Independent, on any remoter causes than those of Obedience, or more sublimate than humane vessels are able to contain without breaking into Enthusiasms, Because found the most ordinary Persecutors of Shipwrack. Nor is any thing likelier to comply with the Causes of Ruin in this Nation than the vastness of *London*; which like the Liver of an *Italian* Goose, or a Rotten Sheep, weighs more than the whole

Excess in  
any thing  
a portens  
of ruin.



*Affectation  
on a sign  
of shall-  
owness.*

whole Nation, and may not only come in probability, to starve that, but suffocate it self.

22. A vacuity may with safety be concluded in that Head, whose Body and Discourse is filled with too much Affectation. Such, through an overmuch care about their Out-side and Words, proclaim a remissness in what relates to the Mind; It remaining equally rare, to find a starched and Complemental Man wife, as a Woman Valiant: The most serious Endeavours of them both being to captivate the ignorant Beholders. And though this may pass but for a blemish in Youth, it becomes an Ugly deformity in Age: asserting their Opinion who have formerly thought Apes to be of the extraction of *Cham*, or some other By-blow of humane Generation, by their too near approaching towards the Nature of Women: wherefore to be avoided as one of the highest excesses in folly. No mode or behaviour appearing suitable to all Companies, but what is Manly, Constant, and Resolute: Overmuch Cringing and Complement appearing in all Judgments, unforestall'd by a like Custom, no less impertinent than tedious, as intruding too far on time and better employments. Nor are the French, with whom these Mimical gestures are most in fashion, the better esteemed amongst graver Nations; who are rather found by reason of this Levity, to put a baser alloy upon the greater excellencies, which those conversant in their Books cannot but allow them: Amongst which you may find reckoned in the number of extravagancies, all Ceremonies not essentially depending on Civility.

*A sole Academick  
Educator renders  
men pedantick.*

23. It is a Saying, no less general than true, That a meer Scholar becomes through a singular and Pedantick practice, not far removed from an Absolute, &c. None being better able to man out and array with a Motley and Pie-bald carriage (the habit of a Fool) than he that hath crouded together an unsorted rabble of all stuffs and colours. A rude mass of Reading  
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till it be thoroughly fixed and concocted in the Sunshine of Employment, becoming like Atoms so volatile and unsettled, as for want of an equal mixture of the more solid and necessary Elements of Prudence, they jostle and whirl up and down, without incorporating any thing but Air; occasioning through a too great dose of Mercury, rather Palsies than any steadiness in the Understanding, by rendring it more bold than rational: Like Children, who confident of their perfect skill in the Game, before Experience hath taught them how to shuffle and deal the Cards, or lay them down in order, advance little but the scorn of Standers by, to see a Courtier kept out, and a mean Trump foisted in, where the best is required: Manifest through all they either speak or write, to their private Epistles, in which for want of an exact measuring persons and degrees, they accost all to the Butler and Landress in one and the same Stile: or if possibly changed, it is in more tedious and impertinent expressions to their betters: in relation to whom Courtship requires the most reserved Brevity can be found on the outside of Ambiguous Obscurity. Nor can this be laid to the charge of true Learning, the Nurse of Understanding, But the long time spent before they be weaned from the breasts of the Universities, and put into Commerce; the only means of attaining strength and ability to Judge what is fit to be retained, and what to be neglected, suitable to the Course, Fortune or Necessity hath allotted for a future subsistence: unpossibly to be gained under such a narrow Erudition as *Cambridge* or *Oxford* affords: which like Stoneage, the Pyramids, and other Rarities, may be well worth a visit, but not to be made Habitations or places of abode. It not residing in the power of any Tutorage to inculcate a wisdom beyond the extent of its own knowledge, and the ability it hath to back its Rudiments, by visible experience, one example prevailing more upon the Memory than ten Rules; and one

one that is for the present to be seen, than twenty found in Old Authors, not possible to quadrate with all times and occasions. Nor is there made generally such choice of Tutors as are able to distinguish what is fit to be taught to every respective Pupil, in relation to his propensity, and the future Employment he is likely to have in the State, but do infuse one and the same rudiments into all in general; as if the world had use of no more tools but one. Which minds me of a laudable and more improving way for knowledge, practised in my time by some of the *Peerage*, that obtained leave for their Sons to stand by the Chair of State, and hear all the Debates in the House of Lords. And if the same were continued and suffered amongst the Commons, it might be a greater improvement than can be found in observing the unmannerly and insignificant distempers in the Schools, &c. To which I shall only add that Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Pim*, &c. were resident in all Parliaments, their age gave them opportunity to assist in; whose highest excellencies, so far as my poor Judgment can extend, lay rather in timing their designs and concealing their passions, than in any more prodigious advantage they had of other men. Nor are there any qualities more essential than these to a Politician, nor less indulged amongst Scholars; who, out of a strong presumption of what they have not, fall into a manifest demonstration of that they really want.

An uni-  
versal in-  
spection  
into  
sciences  
most be-  
coming a  
Gentle-  
man.

24. It is recorded of *Solomon*, that God had given him a large Heart, through which he became universally knowing from the most despicable Herb, to the highest Cedar, and deepest Secret in Nature (then) under knowledge. Which might serve to answer their Curiosity, who think they have done something towards the confutation of this assertion of his wisdom, when they find his sayings parallell'd in other Authors: Since it is a sufficient manifestation of God's extraordinary Grace upon him, that we are assured from his

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own writings, no less than from the testimony of the Sacred Scriptures, that part of the whole mass of Human Learning lay included in his Person; and so, if equalled in one indowment, he was not exceeded by any single Individual in the general Knowledge of all. And as this appears by the Donor, to be none of the smallest gifts, no less than in the estimation of *Solomon* that did ask it, so may we strongly presume that an universal inspection, is the most becoming quality a Gentleman (unfixed in a settled calling) can bestow his endeavours upon. And my memory neither doth, nor (I believe possibly ever) can direct me towards an example more splendid in this kind, than the Lord *Bacon* Earl of *St. Albans*, who in all companies did appear a good Proficient, if not a Master in those Arts entertained for the Subject of every ones discourse. So as I dare maintain, without the least affectation of Flattery or Hyperbole, That his most casual talk deserveth to be written, As I have been told his first or foulest Copies required no great Labour to render them competent for the nicest judgments. A high perfection, attainable only by use, and treating with every man in his respective profession, and what he was most vers'd in. So as I have heard him entertain a Country Lord in the proper terms relating to Hawks and Dogs, And at another time out-Cant a *London* Chirurgion. Thus he did not only learn himself, but gratify such as taught him; who looked upon their Callings as honoured through his Notice; nor did an easie falling into Arguments (not unjustly taken for a blemish in the most) appear less than an Ornament in him: The ears of the hearers receiving more Gratification, than troubled; and (so) no less sorry when he came to conclude, than displeased with any did interrupt him. Now this general Knowledge he had in all things, husbanded by his wit, and dignifi'd by so Majestical a carriage he was known to own, struck such an awful reverence in those he question'd, that

that they durst not conceal the most intrinsick part of their mysteries from him, for fear of appearing Ignorant, or Saucy. All which rendred him no less Necessary, than admirable at the Council-Table, where in reference to Impositions, Monopolies, &c. the meanest manufactures were an usual Argument: And, as I have heard, did in this baffle the Earl of *Middlesex*, that was born and bred a Citizen, &c. Yet without any great (if at all) interrupting his other Studies, as it is not hard to be imagined of a quick Apprehension, in which he was Admirable.

Great  
Libraries  
more for  
pomp than  
use.

25. It is a wonder to see the publick and private Libraries extant almost every where; yet upon an Impartial search into their worth, most of the Books they contain will appear like Salt that hath lost its savour, fitter for the Dunghil, than the Stalls they fill; where they abide an unnecessary Lumber in the Houses of Scholars. The Ore they afford not coming to any more profitable account, after the time required to separate the dross is reckoned for, besides a broken stile, which they do insensibly obtrude upon the neatest Wits and acutest Judgments, Through the meanest of their expressions and invalidity of their proofs, commonly no other than a vain repetition of such Authors Sentences and Names as did own the Thing or Opinion they endeavour at that instant to make good. As if it were Reason Imperative enough to lead us on, because such as they can be found to have gone before: Though God hath made all times alike, and more capable of Improvement than Decay: The contrary of which would redound as little to his honour, as ours. If the Languages now in ordinary use, which are but the paint of Books, be not so Elegant, as other Tongues more Ancient (a question, that in reference to some of our Neighbour Nations may admit of a disputation) whose fault is it, but theirs, that instead of Imbellishing do corrupt and adulterate them quite, by a dialect as unsuitable to the

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understandings as the mouths of the Inhabitants; contrary to the use of the wiser *Italian* and *French*, that explode all words they find rough upon the Pallat: Abominating no less those that savour too much of the School, than such as retain the Barbarism of the Country; and are by this means able to pick out the Kernel in all Learning, without the assistance of any other Tongues but their Mothers. The Canting terms of Arts being natural to them, as they might be in English, but that the *Academies* dare not permit it, out of fear to become Beggars themselves. The cure of Ignorance being far more ready and easy than our *Empericks* make it, and sooner obtained through the open air and daily exercise of Experience, than the confinement to a Study under a set form of Erudition, &c. For my own particular, as History hath been the chiefest of my Employment, so I shall extend no censure beyond what I have found, which is so little of certainty, as I rest quite unsatisfied, especially where many do relate to one and the same time. A Great uncertainty in history. Cloud of Witnesses by reason of their manifest clashings and contradictions, rather darkning, than clearing the ways of truth: So as we cannot credit Books in matter of Fact, farther than they relate Names, which is an useless sound to those that never did converse with the persons: Yet are in this so far to seek, as to leave us divers Founders for one and the same City, and as many Cities for the Birth of one and the same Man. The original of people, if not of all things else being rendred as questionable, as their wars and conquests, which like stories in Hangings, shew fair and legible towards that Nation the Historians design to adorn: But, if examined on the other side, there's nothing appears but Ends and contrary Figures or Expressions: The Records of one Country receiving a strong Contradiction from those of the next, and if Authors be never so little numerous, from some of her own. Wherefore the bright Rays of Honour,

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that



that do now adorn the heads of *Greece* and *Rome*, have rather resulted from their Pens than their Swords, and a Felicity they had in being only able to Magnify themselves to posterity: And that humane relations intend more the satisfaction of particular Interests, than that of Truth; may be guessed by any that have but marked the Occurrences of our days, where the same Press, if not the same Pen, was often found to contradict it self. Nor have we reason to imagine the Ancients more candid in their recitements of Natural and Contingent Events, since we find them so Romantick and Hyperbolical in those they took for miraculous, which might not unpossibly be no more than natural, though they were unable to assign them in their true Cause; all Nations being at their beginning under as thick a vail of ignorance, as the innocent *Indians* are found to lie now. Who did register in their belief, the Armed *Spaniards* for Angels, and the Prognostication of an Eclipse for a high Prophecy; So as no rational man will question, but if these People had expell'd by force their glorious Invaders, before true Information had of their condition, Tradition would have delivered them to posterity in the same Characters and shapes their first abused Imaginations had cast them in. Wherefore such miraculous Conclusions relating in History to respective Places, Persons and Times, are subject to question, unless warranted by a more authentick Attestation than what is Humane: It being a certain sign of a Jugler, not to be able or willing to do one and the same thing often, and in diverse places, and before sundry Witnesses. Nor is the vast difference almost every where observable in Chronology, a small obstruction to an Historical Faith: It being much easier to know the certain time when a Battle was fought, than every accident happenable in the Field, or circumstance attending a Miracle; through which the first may appear the less Honourable, and the latter the more Natural. The effects

effects of a Confederate Company and prepared to deceive, lying obnoxious to no other discovery, than what the Whip or their own more ingenious Confession hath power to extort. Nor are Authors, otherwise creditable, barren of unlikely Productions, which leave the verity of the rest in question; witness *Livy*, *Herodotus*, *Josephus*, &c. amongst the Heathen, without reckoning *Ensebius*, *Socrates*, and other Writers relating to the Church: The which whosoever reads, may find cause enough to think they took up most of the wonders recorded by them upon the credit of such reporters, as might, not unpossibly, have abused them as much, as they are found the misleaders of Posterity. Wherefore Historians ought not to be over luxurious in their Narrations of Improbable things, but rather to imitate the Candor of the *Jew* formerly mentioned, who leaves his Reader to a free choice of that he thinks fit to reject or receive, in his History of the people of God.

For, though the attestation of so many Pens may Authorize a belief, that there was once such a Man as *Alexander*: Yet double their number would hardly perswade a Prudent Reader, that he Conquered the whole World, or that he perfumed all places with his sweat, together with the old Wives tales written of *Bucephalus*, in which he appears little less rational, than themselves. And this we carefully hoard up, with a huge Mass of waste paper, which contains no richer Legacy than that of our Forefathers Ignorance and Credulity. Yet a Generation is still in being, that do not only plead the causes of such Improbabilities, but Anathematize for Infidels all that cannot admit them a room in possibility: Not considering, that as strong a delusion might darken the apprehensions of those that convey'd them to us, as doth yet appear in such, that (notwithstanding our clearer light) keep them still in credit with the World. Now if it be not a Prodigy to find Belief abused in Grofs,

as it was when two Armies were routed, the one by an Host of Thistles, the other through the Dust of a Drove of Cattle coming to Victual the Camp, why may we not Imagine a far greater paucity of witnesses lyable to a like fascination? a few being more obnoxious to deception, than Many; Fear having, in all Ages, retained a power to stamp upon the Fantasy what Figures she pleases. This may advise you not to follow History beyond the Pillars of Possibility: No more than to count Controversy binding, but where she leaves no room for Reply.

Iron of  
greater  
use than  
gold, and  
manu-  
facture than  
learning.

26. Iron is of more use to man, than Gold, though ordinary for Pride to rate it, and Jewels at a higher price: The greatest Riches of Princes consisting in that which (like Honour) is no other ways beneficial to commerce, but as it is prized by Opinion: So labour and manufactures have been, in all happy Common-wealths, looked upon as far more necessary, than Learning. Under the notion of which all things deserved no better Title, than those of Splendid Impertinencies, that do not bring a real advantage to commerce. Heretofore neglected in *England*, as it is yet in other places; where through an excess of Ecclesiasticks the Church becomes more Populous than the temporality: whose Wealth and Splendor cannot long be wanting to raise so great a Cloud of Jealousy, and Covetousness in the Lay power, as they may not possibly be immersed in Envy and Confusion, the Cords or Ligaments of Religion having been, in these latter Ages, much slackened no less than enervated through Disputations, and the immense charge the Laity are, through their Incroachments, daily exposed to. Suitable to a Story of wise *Gondamor*, who urged by King *James* to relate the intrinsic cause of the D. of *Lerma's* Declension, from the most potent Favourite his Catholick Majesty ever raised, to a condition so deplorable, as little, if any thing was left, besides a Cardinals Cap, able to shrowd his head from the, &c.

Made



Made him this Metaphorical parable, That two Rats having tempted their Fortune in pursuit of Livelihood, and Honour, fell upon a House of no less receipt, than plenty of all Provisions; where for many years they lived in the greatest Sensuality their wills or wishes could prompt them to desire: Till overcome by an ambitious thirst of advancing together with themselves, all could pretend to their Alliance or Friendship, so much spoil was committed, as did Alarum the whole Family, and they becoming thus Numerous, had Traps and Poison laid for them in every place. The like disaster may not possibly impend such Academies as teach meer speculative and useless conjectures, not capable of fixation under any Theories, which with Hawking and Hunting, may better become the Gentry, than the Sons of *Menu*; whose heads, like drink, it doth Intoxicate with flatulent and insignificant vapors, for want of money and means to estate them in experience: without which, Learning, is of no more advantage to the Professor, than a Pearl to a Dunghil-Cock, or a Ring in a Swines snout: Wisdom being a Lady of too high a strain for any base Converse, or idle Company; it being far more natural for good parts to plot mischief than stand still. From whence I conclude, that all receiving benefit from any Foundation, should be tied to follow some calling or other, and not to live upon a bare hope an University may in time advance them to.

27. Such a poetical Persecution as *Ovid* raised against *Cadmus*, the Founder of Letters (feigned by him to have put the Gods and Men into a Disaray) may admit of a Moral equal with an Historical no less than experimented Truth: Since a too universally dilated Learning hath been found upon trial, in all Ages, no fast friend either to Policy or Religion; being no less ready to discover Blemishes in the one, than Incongruities in the other. Sophisters like the *Cantons* of

Learning  
makes  
men fa-  
mous.

the *Swiss*, becoming willing upon the least apprehension of advantage, to plant the same Engins and weapons against the wrong side as the right, And not seldom with as good success. Most of the Hereticks, Anathematized of old, having been observed to lay the foundation of their Schisms in discontent for the loss of some Church Preferment denied them for their own, or to gain a greater offered by some other. Thus we see that Riches and Honour have ever been and will still continue, the corner-stones of the Devils Chapel: wherefore most men, no less than places render themselves obnoxious to the brand of Hypocrisie, where these are found too earnestly prosecuted: not possible to be avoided, but by affording the Clergy so much honour and riches, as may guard them from contempt to the opinion of covetousness, (which are meer results of necessity) and too mean a rate for so high a Calling, and useful both to this life and a better, no less than all sort of Governors, is set at; though not able to subsist without them, or be victorious. The Trumpets not proving so prevalent before *Aie* in the hands of the Souldiers, as the poor despicable Rams-horns blown by the Priests.

28. Do not through a too rigid and obstinate Observation, convert Virtue into Vice, or render it more unsociable, than in Reason, Nature, and Civility it ought to be: As such blunt and ill-tutor'd People often are *found to do*, who, to wave *Flattery*, fall into *Incivility*, and to avoid Pride into Baseness. Religion no less than Honour admitting a general and politick Compliance with all Humours so far as Manners extend. It having been the guise both of Prophets and Patriarchs, rather to sweeten with a complacential carriage than exasperate through a reproof such as they knew out of the Pale of the Church: Truth not being at all times in case to be shewn without the ornaments of Courtship, nor People in a condition to entertain it. Tough and downright humours gaining  
more

more favour from Plebeians than Persons of quality; the Market-place, than the Court, towards which it is no less Lawful than expedient to turn your eyes in all things meerly indifferent, as the highest promoter of Honour.

29. When you find your self strike upon the Rock of danger, or Moored in an Inconveniency, cast Obstinacy over board, and call Wisdom to the Helm, which, with the help of Moderation and Compliance, do always keep an Errour from growing worse, if not expunge it quite. Nor doth the want of these applications seldom cause Fools to make shipwrack of all; whilst Prudence by tacking about and recovering Wind and Tide, doth at worst but lessen their Freight. To conclude, wilfulness like *Jonas*, raiseth storms and contrary billows, against all Persons and Fortunes where-ever it commands.

*Moderation and Compliance deliver out of greatest danger.*

30. Though taken in the World for an Honour to be constant to your first Post; yet in case of Weakness, Conviction or Defect, it may be no imprudence, any more than a mark of Levity to desert it. All Assurances, to that of a voluntary, and so the most Sacred Oath, being bounded within the compass of things Possible; of which Wisdom doth ordinarily make Probability the Judge; yet in my opinion not Infalible but in the company of Conscience; who should be an imperfect witness, could she not as justly acquit as condemn: And with whose consent it is no more crime to change, than to follow your Guide, or become less foolish and intemperate upon the sight of a mischief, than before experience had marked it for such. Self-preservation being the first and strongest Principle in Nature; and so not to be neglected but upon the score of God's Honour or Vindication of an unquestionable Truth.

31. It is not always safe, to be found a step, by which another hath mounted himself into the unsteady Chariot of Honour: lest his foot slipping, your fall should

*To be the stirrup of anothers preferment, dangerous.*



should become a necessary consequence of his, or prove so foul in the opinion of such enemies as new beginners do ordinarily contract, as will render you irreconcilable to the other side, which may not improbably prove no less auspicious to you and your Fortunes. Ingratitude remaining not only useful, but necessary to those in power: Upon the Contemplation of Policy no less than Thrift untried Gamesters being ever in most credit with such as have a new Game to play. Nor is it usual with men after their assumption into dignity to hate those did place them there.

*Annual  
Magi-  
stracies  
too short  
for great  
Reforma-  
tions.*

32. More Prudence is required in the Administration of a temporary or annual power, than one of longer continuance; because an over remissness is as likely to question his repute amongst Strangers, as too rigid a prosecution to abate his estimation in relation to his Friends. For though such a time may be long enough to produce errors, it is far too short to perfect a Reformation. Wherefore no bad advice, to follow all Patterns, that appear indifferent, though none of the best, and such paths as are beaten by experience, rather than seek new: as I have known many to the loss of themselves and their fame, when they came to mingle again amongst the Society, and were reduced to an equal parity with the rest. For he that is really able to mend a Government, will undoubtedly be more advised than to perplex so short a Magistracy with what there can be no room found to bring about, but by exposing the Jurisdiction, no less than your own Credit to a dearer experiment, and greater hazard than a Reformation (never quadrating with all Interests) is at the best able to give caution for. From whence it may be concluded greater prudence to follow than lead: Yet under such a Management as no hand may appear to act above board but your own. Not to wade farther in this shallow Honour, which whosoever carries under an elated Neck, cannot but appear to own a narrow heart, no less than a mean Birth and

fordid

ardid Education: And so a year may be too long (for such a Beast to abide in Honour) whereas a Man of desert cannot but think the time too short for to produce any considerable change either in Matter or Form: Though I could instance many that have lost more Reputation and Friends during an Annual Pre-ferment, than they were ever after able to re-gain.

33. All Complexions and Natures are not competent for to be employ'd as Embassadors: Some lying too open a Guard in their Discourse; a fault incident to free People and Persons not bred under restraint. Others, of a faculty retentive enough in relation to Taciturnity, are not able to keep the intentions of their Hearts from flying into their Looks (which by the way a publick Minister is to regard more than words) Masters of their Tongues being not seldom betray'd to a full discovery by their Blood; which the shame of Lying or some one passion or other pumps up, for want it may be of an Impudence, none, but those wickedly bred from their Cradle, are capable of. The reason swarthy Persons and People bordering upon the Sun are more apt for Negotiation, than the Ruddy *English*; famed for fine Force, rather than Circumvention, the business of an Embassador. Nor shall posterity befriend Truth, if they think it any great Hyperbole in those that maintain what *Gondamor* the *Spanish* Agent Writ unto his Prince, which was, That King *James* his most intrinsick desires were Legible in his Countenance. Wherefore his manner was, first to disturb his Passions, and after to appease them by some facetious Drollery, before he embarked himself in what he intended to make the Employment of the present Audience: Being, in my Opinion, a more perfect pattern for all Ministers of State, (which in little ought to practise what *Machiavel* adviseth in gross) than *Cesar Borgia* prescribed for the Mirror of Princes; who out of Design, or not provided of better, did usually in his private Visits, and

Au-

Whose discourse or Countenance betrays their mind, unfit for Embassadors.

Audiences with King *James* speak false Latin; For which he had such dexterous evasions, as his Majesty could by no means make so good use of what was more congruous. It remaining always in his power to alter the Times and Cases of his Words, an advantage no Interpreter could possibly afford. Nor can endeavour be mispent in making a farther inspection into the Life of this incomparable Agent, which I confess my self unable to do: Though, in my own vindication, I can say he was Tall, as I have observed a number to be in these days very wise, and on the contrary, not many Fools, of an extraordinary Stature: By which is given a real confutation to that common error, no ways authorized from any Reason or Experience, That the Faculties of the mind cannot be so active in vast Bodies, as little; provided they be not suffocated by Fat, but like his, straight and meager. Though I have found Subtility, which is a more base and sly kind of Wisdom, very frequent in small and crooked bodies, which the proper People do, in a greater Gallantry of Nature, scorn. *Gondamor* did in all companies as well as the Kings, incline more to mirth, than melancholy; choosing rather to conceal, than demonstrate the Wisdom and Arts by which he brought about his Masters Designs; no less to the shame of the *English*, &c. than honour of his own dexterity: Who was much wronged at his return into *Spain*, if he made use of all the advantages his Nations Prudence and our remissness afforded him. But to what my knowledge was more perfect in, he had so quick a wit as he was able to vindicate himself in his greatest Imperfections; not wanting spirit to tell King *James*, when he upbraided him with his Latin, That he himself spake like a Prince, free and unconfined; his Majesty like a Grammarian, as if afraid of the Ferula. Yet the excellency of his parts, could not shroud him from the *Spanish* Ingratitude, which for many Ages hath been observed to impend the greatest desert; for  
after



after the Prince of *Wales* safe return, whose restraint he did in the opinion of the *Conde Olivares* too strongly oppose, he fell into disgrace, and was, with his son, most Cruelly cast by; Being, if a Papist, no rigid one, as may appear by many of his Stories: amongst which this is one; He told upon some question he was asked concerning Intercession. The Picture of our Lady being observed to weep, (an ordinary deceit used by the *Friers* to wring money from the ignorant) the Neighbourhood where it happened, became much troubled, as esteeming it a bad Omen for the future: Nor were the Church-men backward to foment this fear, Though strongly opposed by an exceeding old man in the Village, that did maintain it was unlikely to be so; Who upon this was convicted, and did as stiffly before the Fathers of the Inquisition justify what he formerly had said: And being by them demanded how he came to be so well acquainted with the Mother of God, he reply'd, he knew every inch of her, as having been then the Prentice of the Joyner that set her up; And by his appointment had bored a hole in her back-side with his biggest Auger, a hand deep: From whence he concluded, that if ever she could have wept, it would have been then.

To end with Embassadors, where I began, it is an employment more suitable to the Prudence than Candour of a free Spirit; conformable to an excuse of an Honourable Person I did once know, who chosen to this Office, rather in relation to the greatness of his Estate, than Love of the King; answered, *he could not undertake it without ruining his Majesty's affairs, for want of Impudence, and his own, through the greatness of the expence.*

34. Such as are exact Observers of the proceedings Nature of Nature, find her not so bountiful in her distributions, as to accumulate all her rich endowments on one individual with the same Individual: So as many can write well, all perfect who

who by reason of too great a confluence of words and Matter, or for want of Confidence, (through which their Tongues, no less than their other Organs, become shackled and paralytick) are rendred unintelligible, and so impertinent Speakers, whereas others owning no mean perfection in both these, appear upon trial no body at Transaction, The highest effect of Prudence: Though the two first for the most part run away with the Applause; because the latter is a milder temper, and not so able to rant out her own commendations, yet deserves best to be indulged by Princes, as being indeed the greatest rarity in these Northern Climates, not yet famed for much excellency in Negotiation: For want of which and secrecy (the Zeal of Policy) great affairs have miscarried in my time, Though under the conduct of Persons in other capacities not unuseful, especially those of writing and speaking, qualities yet more apt to raise broils, than able to compose them; which is indeed an employment for more steady heads, and such as from their Child-hood, have learned to barter and contest.

Ministers  
of State  
ought  
sometimes  
to render  
their sense  
ambiguous.

35. Though to write and speak intelligible to the weakest capacity, be very commendable, yet a Minister of State ought to be able, by making such Parentheses in his Art, and leaving out Points, Commas, &c. to render the Sense Ambiguous, were the farthest extent of benefit or loss in a Negotiation cannot yet be perfectly discovered, upon which a denial excuse, or farther debate may be made use of; not so easily done in a Tongue universally understood as Latin seems to be. The ordinary employing of which in all or the most things treated about, amongst Neighbours, may help to discover a reason, why *England*, and all other Nations esteemed *North*, are so frequently over-reached by *Spain*, *Italy* *France*, &c. That own Inhabitants far wiser than to be ashamed of, or to disavow their Native Idiom through a pride they take

being perfect Masters of one more foreign. Yet upon their drawing towards a Conclusion, they may be led so far to Equity, as to choose Latin for the most different, and subject to the least mistakes. Nor can I, being fallen on the Art of writing, think it any great Impertinency to note, that the ilness of your Ink, or the frequent taking up hairs with a Pen, may put a man out of the road of his former sense, and Line of Invention; wherefore That ought to be shunnt, and This good.

36. It is no bad Counsel for a Traveller to appear in his best equipage upon every remove to a new place; especially if he hath no better recommendation than his own to procure his welcome, commonly suitable to the Opinion People do at first sight apprehend of his worth, the best assurance they conceive of honest payment, which persons meanly habited give small caution for; and therefore rarely admitted to a convenient Lodging, or good and cheap Pension or Diet; A new comer having nothing to render him acceptable, or to advance him in the world's estimation, but a gentle Garb and decent Habit: yet under this advice, that it be not Clinkant or Rich, since Gold Lace, Rings or Jewels have not seldom rendered Travellers the prey of Braves and Murderers. Besides, an over high Ostentation puts an Excise on all things you want, or are forced to buy. Nor is this Counsel the less to be esteemed, because borrowed from a *Scot* whose usual custom is to shroud themselves under the title of *English*: And if owners of any Merchandize, they take up the best Houses they can get, by which they gain credit, though their Landlord doth not seldom lose his Rent. Wherefore no Honour, Profit, or Safety to be known an owner of their acquaintance, lest you fall into a repute no ways suitable to a Gentleman, who by just dealing may gain in a short time from all, so great a confidence, as may render himself secure, and what he wants, supplied at the best hand.

Good  
Cloaths  
commend  
a Travel-  
ler.



Princes  
need wise  
Counsels.

37. Kings have their station, no less than Motions in slippery places, and had need of good eyes: wherefore if their own be weak, it behoves them to be Circumspect by whom they are led. Courtiers, for the most part, intending their particular interests, rather than things of more publick concernment. From whence it may be concluded, that in case of defect which all Princes are, upon some temptation or other, either at home or abroad liable to; Birth next to sufficiency is to be regarded; The sense of honour supplying in divers persons the place of Conscience. Religion, in our days, being so blended in Hypocrisy, that 'tis come to signifie in Statesmen greater danger than advantage, by raising more distrust, than Confidence. King *James*, out of a too strong presumption of his own reach, did not weigh the weakness of those he admitted to the Council-Table: which might have been the better excused, had his Juncto consisted of such as were Noble and Wise: But since these Endowments were not frequently wanting, but a Pension from some one or more foreign Princes taken to suborn Fidelity, who can wonder the Commonwealth fell into Distempers, after the Governors had totally neglected the wholsom Regiment, Queen *Elizabeth* had so long used with good success: and did never cease tampering till by new conclusions they had put it wholly out of frame. King *James* participating so far of the Misfortune of all passionate Men (especially such as abound in fear) as he carryed always a Traitor in his face; of which every wise by-stander was able to make use. And from this patency, his policy was not only enervated, but rendred more destructive than an open and candid Discovery might possibly have proved. From whence his Majesty may be thought, not thoroughly acquainted with the Constitution of *England*, when he bestowed the strongest of his Labours, in the supressing and vilifying the Nobility, not only found the Glory, but the real Safety of the

the Nation ; till their Virtue was allayed through a  
 too great Dilation, by which the House of Lords be-  
 came numerous, and as it were of one Nature with the  
 Commons: A Fault so far incapable of amendment, as  
 the King was forced for want of a Party strong enough  
 for his particular Service, every Session to encrease their  
 number ; who being exhaled out of the greater Mass  
 of Gentry, through the heat of Affection, or cast into  
 this Figure by the help of Mammon, they brought up  
 with them into the House of Commons the same desires  
 they had of a reforming all things amiss in Church and  
 State: Which in a greater paucity, the Lords could not  
 have so much felt ; being above all Oppression, but  
 what dropped upon them from the Anger of the *Prince*,  
 about whom they had, in their absence, some Friend  
 or other to mediate in their behalf. I confess our Kings  
 have been often worsted by their Peerage, but very  
 rarely, &c. Nor were the conveniences of any other  
 Government put in the Scales, much less Monarchy ex-  
 ploded ; The antient Nobility being in their greatest  
 Purity and highest Pride, wise enough to remember the  
 Shame of State could not be ruffled without putting in  
 display all their smaller Feathers. Nor were the Kings  
 of this Nation, before Free-holders grew so numerous,  
 and Honour came to be valued by the Candle, not De-  
 sert, to seek with whom to compound, in the greatest  
 Dangers their own Tyranny, or others Ambition had  
 cast them upon ; because the chief Leaders in all *Rebel-*  
*lions* were Persons of Quality ; and bore so much Zeal  
 to the preservation of their Country, being of the same  
 piece with the Crown, as not to demand more than  
 the Prince could well spare, and without which them-  
 selves, their Tenants and Friends (amounting amongst  
 them all to little less than the whole Commonalty)  
 could not be happy ; it being the nature of this Cli-  
 mate to love Parliaments, and abhor all Arbitrary Go-  
 vernment. Wherefore the damage the long Sessions  
 brought, or might farther have accumulated upon this  
 wretched

wretched Nation, had it not been stopped by the Hand of Providence: Which (considering the unwillingness of the remainder to give over, or call others to them better able, if not more willing to unload the People) ought not (in my Judgment) to be applauded. It being as unnatural for a Parliament to be perpetual, as for a Person to be continually fed with Vomits and Purgations. But to wind up these Politick Enthusiasms (at least for the present) out of my Head. The English used their Kings, in case of Rebellion, as the Catholick Princes were wont to do the Pope, from whom, after they had taken away, for former Misdemeanours all that he had, they did, out of Conscience, fear of their Neighbours, of their own conveniency, quietly admit him, or some other, into the same See, &c. wisely apprehending that no quiet can remain, either in Church, or Common-wealth, without a Governour, or Community of Strength sufficient to head and maintain the Laws. Wherefore the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, together with the pretenders to a present Terrestrial Kingdom of Christ (if not able to produce more authentick Warrant than hitherto they have done) deserve little protection from the Magistrate, because they deny Obedience, where it is without question due.

*Uxorious  
Princes of  
dangerous  
Conse-  
quence to  
a State.*

38. It may be numbred amongst things noted of dangerous Consequence, for a State be governed by an Uxorious Prince, though reputed no Fool in other Relations, It raising so great Jealousies both at home and abroad, as none will treat with him about Business of any secret Concernment, but upon an unavoidable Necessity; being in all Negotiations bound to communicate as punctually with the Queen as the King, upon a no less penalty (in case she should take her self slighted) than the ruin of the Affair. The like Caution may be given in reference to such Privado's or Minions as are really, or thought able to dispose of their Masters Concessions: Which, besides the dishonour it brings to the person of the Prince, causeth a

far



far greater after Indigency, out of distrust (in all Treaties with Foreigners, no less than his own Council at home) than there can be found room for, where but one is to be addressed to, since Prudence forbids to venture wholesome Council (ever distastful to some) in a Bosome not tight enough to contain it. Wherefore in such Effeminate Courts Wisdom is not to tamper at all, or to fit Advice to the Distaff, rather than Scepter, as the more dangerous Weapon, and from whence many Blows have proceeded in my time, capable of no milder a Cure than loss of all hope for the future, if not of Estate and Life it self. Nor is it possible for such Kings to be better attended than by Fools and Parasites, being compelled upon all events to take the worst of Counsels themselves, and as upon their own Score, out of shame to say from whence they had it. Nor can a Prince, in prudence, if in Justice, accuse his Consort for any incontinency in Speech, after such an Example given, as to tell her what is not fit for any other besides himself to know. Where Polygamy is in use, this Errour, of most dangerous Consequence to all in a superlative Power, is not so frequent. It being inconvenient, if not pernicious for such to Love or Hate any, beyond so exact a proportion in either of these Passions, as may disenable him to alter upon every assurance of a contrary Desert. A small Blemish in the conduct of a private Family, becomes a no less pernicious than ugly Deformity in that of a State. Where the Wives of Kings should wholly intend the content of their Husbands, and security of the Nation, in producing a fair and unquestionable Succession; and not by fidling (as they are too commonly found in Europe) with Government, to put all out of Tune. From whence it may be thought no bad Counsel, for those of the first magnitude in a State, to be no longer in private Conversation with Women, than during the less serious Imployment of Love: Their Advice like Eves being not seldom suborned from the Maligners of their Husbands Felicity, and the rest of the time spent

in *querimonious* Accusations of his best Servants, or as unreasonable Demands in favour of their own. So as if the Head of *Sampson* had contained but the tithe of that Strength said to have resided in his Hair, a Woman had never understood where it lay: Who through an impertinent and tedious Importunity (which is not seldom mixed with deceit) do often beguile such into a Discovery, as have been thought Proof against Honor, Money, or the Rack it self. And because I apprehend this Caution to be of greater Concernment than it hath been Imagined, take this Example which lies yet amongst a number more crowded in my Memory, as thought the fittest, because brought about through a combination of Passions, of which, Fear got the predominance by the mediation of Lust.

Queen *Elizabeth* being presented with an Overture out of *Spain*, so secretly managed by the Counsel there, as the first news of its approach came with it self; the Messengers (out of fear of a surprisal) dispensing with the Ceremonies commonly used in behalf of Embassadors, (because it appeared something prodigious, considering the Pride of his Nation) did much inflame the Lord Treasurer's desire to know the farthest extent of the Negotiation, as conducing to a present advantage, that such an Answer might be made as should in some proportion quadrate with the demand of the Catholick King, at that time standing upon Terms little different from those of an Enemy; and being informed from the ordinary espials he kept about his Person, that the attempt was difficult; if any thing nearer than Impossible, the *Don* out of distrust, *still carrying his Instructions in his Bosom*: *Burghley* caused such a Jesuit to be apprehended, as by reason of former Miscarriage could not expect Mercy, and imparts his Desires to him under as large Promises, if he brought them about, as Threats to be revenged on him or his Associates, if he found himself abused. All which, though with some reluctance he undertook and performed, through the mediation of a fair Lady that first took away his Commis-

sion,

sion, and then laid it again under his Pillow whilst he slept: So wise are Women, or such Fools be Men during the time they abide under their Incantation.

39. Few Marriages have succeeded better, than those Contracted between the *Austrian* Family and *England*. Nor is this a bare result of Luck, but Reason: The remoteness of *Spain*, but above all, their Love to their own Sun-shine, Customs, and Religion, having fixed their affections so firm to their own doors, as they have no desire for Change: a quality the levity of other Nations that renders them the more universal Citizens of the World, doth not admit of: whereas a *Spaniard* is a rare ingredient in any Climate but his own. Out of which may be drawn this presumption, that their Ladies cannot but be thought to leave an ill subject to the less Question. Nor is the natural Frugality of this graver People (seldom found amongst the French) a small advantage to the English Court: And might not unpossibily cure it of that expensive Itch she hath long born to change her Fashions; an Humour no less mad than destructive. And through the prosecution of which all Marks of Knowledge are removed, and the Serving-man with the Master, the Mistress with the Maid reduced to an equal parity in relation to distinction, where they have no more certainty to guess by, than is deducible from the Habit. Whereas in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, and long since, all degrees of persons were discernable by their Cloaths. Nor hath any abuse passed over, under so little notice, made deeper Impressions into the wealth of both Court, City and Country than this; or hath rendred them more the Objects of Envy and Contempt: who are in this become so ridiculous, as to own fashions, by which they are so manacled, as they cannot stir, carrying their Arms in as great a restraint, as the Women of *China* were reported to bear their feet; through which they are necessitated to remain idle, as not able to use their hands, or any other honest diversion, but what can be deduced from discourse; which the *Spanish*

*The alliance of the Austrian Family most successful to England.*

*Indistinction of habits a cause of much poverty.*



gravity waves. Their Ladies being unlike the *French*, whose luck having been of late to be left Guardians to Minor Kings, do assume to themselves a sufficiency to manage a State: through which their Husbands come to be perplexed in their affairs.

*Hope  
lulls In-  
dustry  
asleep &  
is often  
the decoy  
to ruin.*

40. Though Hope intrudes her self as a Medium in all distresses, yet it cannot be found in experience to obstruct (if too far rely'd upon) the application of more prevalent remedies, by dazling the understanding; and like a white Witch, keeping Resolution so long in suspense, and imploy'd in ceremonial applications, as the single fit of a Fever doth not rarely in a small time prove owner of the danger of an Incurable Hectick. And thus through a plausible and natural Compliance, Hope becomes the false Prophet of Fortune, who by her more happy predictions is able to ruin often the Affairs, and not seldom the Persons of Princes; the evil consequence of which having been found to produce sadder effects than those of Despair (the youngest Daughter of her Sister, Fear) who though last heard, hath sometimes been observed to give none of the worst counsels. Nor is Play looked upon by me for a weak fomentor of this childish Deception: And therefore marked here, as elsewhere, for dangerous and destructive to Princes and those at the Helm, making them expect the like Auspicious changes in worldly occurrences, as they do ordinarily observe in the flux and reflux of Luck at Cards and Dice: Not apprehending, through a contrary Custom, that though the terms be equivalent in relation to uncertainty, (all Games being a kind of war and contest for superiority) Yet the Cunning used by Politicians, like that of Cheaters, will overcome the strongest endeavours of Fortune, if unassisted by the same advantages. Wherefore since the success of a Battle depends not only upon the Imperceptible conduct of Providence, but the Mysterious Inductions of a Prudence confined to no other goodness but what relates to victory, a Prince ought to quit himself of all dependance  
upon

upon this blind Goddess, Chance, with as much dexterity, as his own preservation and the emergency of his affairs will admit. The security of Fortune, like that of Unthrifts, seldom proving gainful at the conclusion. Manifest in *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, and many other easie to be produced, who out of a ridiculous Gaiety, did forfeit his present felicity, together with his life, in an Imprudent expedition against the *Helvetians* ; who, with half the charge he was at to ruin himself, might have hired them to destroy one another. And all this was attempted upon no stronger a Mediation or Assurance than that of Hope, and the encouragement of those suborned to betray his Youth into the hands of Fortune. From whence may be deduced this wholesome Aphorism of State, *That what is safe can hardly prove dishonourable* : The Report or Opinion of Foreigners being as far below a Prince as Prudence is above valour : Not unlikely to be the reason so few Nations have prospered under a Military Counsel, who by often provoking success, do at last drive it quite away. Wherefore if a Prince in a Civil Commotion (especially where he is left to the liberty of Choice) apprehends a power near equivalent with his own, it can be no imprudence to knock off, by yielding to the first demands of his Subjects, ever more reasonable than those can be expected shall come attended with a greater probability of success on their side : The Rabble being seldom capable to learn at a cheaper price than woful experience, That the fall of a Prince doth rarely produce any milder a consequence, than the undoing of his people, by putting all things into a combustion, and teaching the Monster to know its own strength, which cannot safely be opposed but with weapons made of the same Iron ; the application of foreign Force appearing to prudence little better, if not worse than the disease, as having been the Original of most of the Conquests we read of. All which may tempt a King to a charitable, rather than a bloody Compliance, more subject to impair than better

the condition of a Natural Prince, who upon any success cannot be Cruel, without irritating his own party, no more than Merciful, since the first will increase their fears, as the latter doth delude their hopes; which in such cases cannot be satisfied but with Confiscations, not possibly to be so equally divided, as not to occasion more envy than love. Because in case of Victory, he is no more able to punish all appeared against him, than to satisfy their expectations that stood for him, who in another Commotion may upon that score be as ready to become his enemies: The Impudence of Souldiers increasing more by one intestine war than three foreign; and do breed in a politick the like distempers too great a quantity of Blood is found to cause in a natural Body. Wherefore since the marks of precept make not so deep Impressions, as those of Example, all former ill success being imputed to some miscarriage in the attempt; as the good is cryed up beyond desert, it may not be bad Prudence in Kings to obliterate out of Books all marks of Sedition (As I heard that famous Antiquary Sir Robert Cotton say, thirty had been in *England* since the Conquest) lest Posterity should reduce them into precedents for the like disorders. To conclude, if a Prince finds his friends (which in a Rebellion are hard to be discerned from enemies) not able at the first Essay of force to bring in the Conspirators; The Lion's skin is to be devested, and all hope layed by, but what may be deduced out of compliance; for fear some about his Chair should discover the weakness of his game, or by playing booty ruin him quite: One loss being in such cases more than an ordinary presage of a greater to follow. For tho' the Rabble are not capable of prudence enough to temper themselves, they own so much strength, as, through the guidance of others, they are able to distemper a state. The Materials being easier to be discovered than the Contrivers of any Rebellion.

41. Plantations and Communities, like Fish-pools and Lakes are quietest, if not most happy at first founding



founding or storing. For after some revolution of time hath rendred them Numerous, Necessity, no less the Parent of Spurious than Legitimate Arts, doth in a natural favour to self-preservation, teach them to cheat and oppress one the other. Wherefore the golden Age, so much celebrated in Poetry, is as remote from Fiction as Miracle. The Earth affording more felicity to a few than many, which those People bordering upon the Sun, from whence Mankind is at first said to proceed, might, by reason of a slower increase longer enjoy; till by falling into conjunction with our colder Climates, and (so) apter for Generation, she came to over-stock her self: Losing the universal felicity in a croud of Inhabitants. From whence sprung not only the use, but an unavoidable necessity of introducing Government, which falling under distinct Headships or Royallets, needed no greater provocation to Rapine and War, than the strongest found in their natural temper: The same Malignancy abounding then, as doth now, though palliated by the great plenty of all things the World afforded at the beginning; none being so much in love with Choler, or any other passion, as to fall into it without unprovoked. This proves Want, the Original of Law, as *St. Paul* makes that an occasion of sin. And from hence might spring a greater sincerity in the service of God, the sole refuge of those that have none other to fly to. It being common with all men to extend their hope beyond the proportion of what they fear; and therefore easily flattered into a belief of any felicity though never so improbable or remote. And because this is natural and imprinted in the character of all Humanity, I look upon it as none of the weakest assurances of our future bliss.

42. The World was never in so serene a temper, Most as under *Augustus Caesar*; during whose Reign the Wars occasioned King of Heaven and Earth appeared, and the Temples of War stood sealed up, so as the Gods and Goddesses assigned by the Heathen for Military Employments allers.

mènts had leave to play; being emancipated from all perturbations arising through the variety of petitions the contrary interest of Mortals caus'd them to make. Nor can this Halcyon Tranquility be in reason imputed to any remoter Earthly cause, than the entire Unity of those times, terminating in the single person of a moderate Prince. From whence may be naturally deduced this Theoreme, That Christendom would not only strengthen her posture against the Grand Seignior, but be more secure in her self, under one Monarch, than thus Cantonized as she is. Though I shall not dispute what Nation is most opportunely situated for such a Design, to avoid Controversy, being as ready (and I believe under protection of a strong Reason) to present *England*, as others may be to offer *France*, or any Member belonging to the House of *Austria*. Wherefore to pass over the discourse of an Universal Monarch, as favouring too much of the Utopian Dialect, and rendred unpossible through the huge and invincible proportions, so much Time, Ignorance of the Church, and Wisdom of Princes hath laid together, I shall modestly examine, Whether inferiour Commonalties and small Royallets be not as great a Bar to an Universal Tranquility, as the extravagant power of the Peerage was to *France*, before moderated by the Wisdom of *Lewis* the Eleventh. These less Potentates being compelled, through weakness and want, to cast the Balls of contention amongst the mightier Monarchs, which if reduced to an absolute Obedience, as they are already to little less, through a necessary dependance from their own preservation, on *France* or *Spain*: Their malevolence rendered, through Fears and Jealousie, general, and not seldom contradicted out of false suggestions, might be rebated; And the more powerful left at better leisure to attend the motions of the Ottoman Family, and to stop the Leaks of Heresie and Schism, which if suffered to run on, will suffocate the power, if not totally eclipse the external Glory of the Christi-

an Religion. Nor can a better cause be found, why the Popes power over Kings (no question at first usurped) should still remain floating betwixt the bladders of Ignorance and Superstition, but that he is able to foment a party amongst these, which he can increase out of the Natives of any Nation that doth oppose him. Thus, as it were through an Antipathesis raised between a burning zeal in the People, and fear of the Prince, he comes to domineer over all alike, but those have crept from under his Censures; who are nevertheless liable to his Lash, at some time or other, in respect of the number of *Seminaries* he hath already (yet unpaid by himself) to vindicate his quarrels in every place. Nor are the desires of the Pope, any more than the rest of such petty Princes, as have nothing but shifts to subsist by, cordial for the total abolition of the *Turk*, out of a dread of themselves, which also extends to the disturbing of an Universal peace: They looking upon the diminution of their Grandeur, as the only Sacrifice able to purchase it. And this gives them, like whelps, the boldness to bite the greater Monarchies by their legs and extreamer parts, when they find them at odds amongst themselves, or (which is worse) grappled with the Grand Seignior. And he that is ignorant in this, cannot be thought knowing in the Imperial History, no more than in other Passages, where not only his Holiness, but the most Christian, to obtain advantage of the (in that) more Catholick King, are reported to have made a solemn League with this enemy of Christ. Nor have the *German* Princes remained long tongue-tied in this behalf, no more than their *Cæsar*; who may be the better excused, as having done it sometimes to prevent a more immediate danger from them at home. It being common with these petty Governments to hatch such plots, and give birth to those Designs with which the rest of the World is commonly disturbed: Manifest in the Duke of *Birone*, formerly so far instrumental to the reduction of the Crown of *France*, who became



became after to have his fidelity corrupted through the poyson he received from *Savoy*; that continual thorn in the sides of her Neighbours. Nor can *Roche* acquit her self so well, during the time her Walls did separate the Inhabitants from the Obedience of their Prince, as, for the Honour of the Reformation, I desire it could from like practices, no more than other Corporations, &c. have done; the blemishes of which it goes against the grain of my Profession to discover: Though I wonder from the inspiration of what Spirit we come to prosecute the followers of an unrevealed Anti-Christ, for ought I ever yet could learn from any Expofitor, with so great an Animosity, and pass without notice one doth face us already: Being without question better able and more ready to do greater Dishonour and Mischief to the Christian Religion, than the Bishop of *Rome* can be tempted to, in regard of his own particular Interest. Through which is justified that common Imprudence general in the World, where men prosecute a small damage from a neighbour with a fiercer revenge, than a greater sustained by an enemy; like Conies, that may be observed to tear and fight with those of their own kind, but will make no resistance against the Pol-Cat, the common Enemy of all. And thus do our high-nosed Hypocritical Zealots that pretend to smell rank Idolatry in all Professions but their own: yet in the mean time are found not only to neglect the open and professed Antagonists of Christ, but with *Pharaoh's* lean Kine, are observed to devour the Revenues, and take the Houses of God into possession, under the pretence of a Reformation; first begun in *Germany*, which, as some have thought, was left by providence to the *Austrian* Family, not out of God's wrath, but a tender care of the Christian Affairs.

43. Had the Catholick King sought extension of Empire at the prejudice of *Asia*, and not incroached upon the Territories of his Christian Neighbours, he might in probability have been nearer, if not his whole ends, yet

yet far more than he is Master of, or can in likelihood be ever able to obtain, by the course he takes. Nor is this my single Opinion, but an assertion of a Spaniard in a small Treatise, where he handles five Problems of which this appears not to favour of the least likelihood: Since in the first prosecution of such a Project, his Sails would not only be emptied of much of the envy all the Princes of *Christendom* do swell with now in reference to his undertakings, but filled with their wishes for a happy success. Nor could the Pope in shame, if in Conscience, have refused him a *Crusado*, or any assistance the Church could afford, at least within his own Kingdoms, if he should have owned an Impudence to deny a larger contribution, or the uttermost of his endeavours to stave off *France* from fastening upon his Patrimony in his absence. Nor can Ambition, as *Machiavel* wisely observes, promise it self a more probable success than is likely to follow an Invasion of *Turky*; whose Strength, as the same Author attests, lies more in Tradition than real Truth, at this Day in Peace with the Persian, and so secure of the rest of *Christendom*, as if they were all asleep, yet hath not been able to wrest *Candy*, in all this time, out of the weakly supported hands of the *Venetians*. Nor doth any Prince in the World own those advantages for such an attempt as the Spaniard; his other Limb, the Emperour, lying at the Mouth of *Constantinople*, ready to attach him upon the sound of any Mutiny or Rebellion, at this Day very frequent amongst them: And might with the more probability of advantage, be fomented, because the People are in a condition not capable to be impowered. Nor is there any Nation in the World of more contrary Complexions, in relation to People and Religions. Nor can any Man think it a matter of difficulty, to take in the Grand Seignior's Out-works, that hath heard what report Sir Robert Mansel made at his return from *Algiers*, where, upon sight of a Commissionless Navy that King

*James*

*The Spaniards having Asia in expectation to conquer Europe, improve their politick and unsuccessful.*

James sent, the Patrons became Suitors to their Slaves for Mercy.

The speculative and  
practick  
part of Politics re-  
quire different  
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44. Though *Machiavel* may deserve commendations, for the excellent use he hath made of the proceedings of his first happy, then miserable acquaintance with *Cesar Borgia*, Son to Pope *Alexander* the sixth: Yet I doubt, if himself had fill'd the same room, and owned the like advantage, whether he had been able to have attained to that height *Cesar* did, though in wisdom and splendor of Birth not inferiour to him; It requiring one Spirit to Write, and another to present to the Life, and suitable to every occasion, all Scenes both Comical and Tragical in relation to Friends or Foes, likely to furnish out, with a present security or future continuance, a Person fit to mount into a Throne made vacant by Fraud; Since none but such as from their Birth have been used to personate what really they never were, can, in this wise Author's Opinion, pretend upon a less hazzard than the Ruin of himself or his Family, to the Government of State: To which there are acquired such contrary Intricacies, as whilst one is unraveling, another twines; so as without an exact observance of those Elements of Policy he prescribes, there can be no hope for a Tyrant to subsist. Nor were these Aphorisms common only to *Cesar Borgia*, or died with him, but continue to this Day, especially in *Italy*: Where no Wickedness is shunned, any ways conducing to the Extension of Empire, and the ends of Ambition. His Holiness himself entertaining all means for Lawful and Right, carrying any probability of advancing his Children or Nephews. In which they have remained so long prosperous, as most of the small Princes beyond the *Alps*, are themselves, or their Wives, *Chips of the Cross*; And meer excrescencies of the Policy and Power of the Church; which Practice is made so common through custom, as all marks of Reproach lie covered, if not in the Nature, in the necessity of the Attempt. Nothing less than a superlative Strength being able to secure the Issue of a pre-  
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sent Pope, from the Rapine and Spoil of him that may not unpossibly succeed. It running quite contrary to the wise practice of the Conclave, to chuse twice together out of one and the same House, but rather to exclude all the immediate Possessors Confidents or Kindred, out of a dread they have to affix the Mitre in a particular Family. Yet notwithstanding the Popes prudent management of Affairs, during their own time they have not seldom been so foully mistaken, by counting upon the score of their own Judgments and natural affections, as to anticipate the ruin of them they studied to preserve, for want of making an Impartial survey of the Prudence of such Children or Nephews, as they sought to advance, and a through consideration of the strength of their Complexions, and depth of their Consciences, whether able to digest all sorts of Blood, cold and hot, likely to obstruct the ways to what was aimed at. The venerable Historian *Guicciardine* noting, that though *Alexander* the sixth was at first so far perplexed at the Death of his eldest Son, as to renounce the World; The same Author saith, he resumed it again upon the first assurance given, that his other Son the Cardinal had been the Murderer; And did, after his resignation of the red Hat, redouble his Endeavours to raise him; as if he had looked upon the throwing of his Brother into *Tiber*, and the laying his Sister upon the Bed of Incest, as a good Portent of his future greatness, whose Story though something gelt by reason of the Scandal it gave, may be worth the reading, no less than *Machiavel's* Notes upon *Cesar Borgia*; out of which, and all Politicks else, may be observed, That *People endure Oppression with more Patience from an old, than a young Prince*, as thinking it less durable, and *from an Usurper, than one ascending through a continual Succession*; as esteeming it more natural, and no less than they looked for, or do acknowledge to have deserved, for not seeing when they were well: A consideration a Politician should expunge by contrary practices, leaving them

them a liberty in all innocent Punctilio's, and every thing else remaining to their Lives and Estates, so long as they remain quiet, let the Persons be of what Magnitude they will; suitable to the wise conduct of Spain, where the elder Family is suffered annually to renew his Claim to the Crown, though with as little success as interruption. Nor is it safe for a Prince incessantly to afflict his People, who may, like Dogs, quietly for a time endure it, though upon a too unreasonable continuance they do not seldom so far participate of that Beasts (well known) condition, as to fly in their Face. Wherefore Governours should for their own sake, no less than the Nations, imitate God, who though absolute disposer of Promise and Performance, doth conform the latter punctually to the first: Which whosoever doth not, may, like a drunken Man, be justly thought intoxicated in his Understanding; since the breach of an Oath must needs be a Trap abominated by all, in relation to the more innocent Sheep, because honest Men hardly can dispence with the use of it, in the insnaring of such Wolves as do oppress and devour them.

Bloody  
Princes  
odious and  
imprudent.

45. *Machiavel* doth accuse as Imprudent, all such Princes (and most especially those whose *Virtue*, as he calls it, hath given a beginning to Empire) that knew not when to stop that issue of Blood, which may at first be necessary to keep such Titles in, as have no better colour to face their Legality, but what is attained by Prudence, or the Sword (from the benevolence of which, all Powers now extant were at their original derived) but did continue their bloody Cruelties and malignant Aspect. Keeping by that means the Peoples discontents waking, and so by consequence their own no less chargeable than terrible Fears and Jealousies; nothing being more obvious to probability, than the raising some Spirits (amongst the number of Enemies, such a continued practice will in all reasons produce) as can never rest satisfied without Revenge; Often brought about by so uncouth and improbable Means, and the mediation of

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of such despicable Instrument, as no purveyance can shield the Person of a Prince from: Who, whilst his Prudence, like the Philosophers Eyes, are fixed upon higher and more remote Dangers, he falls into some nearer Trap he never dreamt of. And to manifest the Truth of this Assertion, the same Author doth instance *Philip of Macedon*, and many other Examples borrowed from Antiquity, which I shall wave, and only content my self with that of the Duke of *Buckingham*, that fell by the Hand of *Felton*, whose Picture I am the willinger to draw, as thinking it well becoming the Bosom of all Persons in Power. In which I am not likely to be partial, having to my knowledge never seen the Man. Though his Father owed an Employment under mine in the Office of Remembrance for many Years. He was of a Religious and Quiet Conversation, given to no open Vice nor whimsical Opinions, being a frequent hearer of such Preachers as were never found to give encouragement to such Practices, but rather the contrary: Prayers and Tears being the sharpest Weapons that were then formed in the Pulpit by Parochial Pastors, whatever Lecturers did; from whose Doctrin I have been told he was ever averse; nor was *honest Jack*, a Title always given him, (though rendred after more diffusive by the Duke's enemies, then so ill a consequence might merit) Agitated by revenge, or any privater Spirit than what he was perswaded did regard the Common-weal; As I heard *William Earl of Pembroke* protest, who could not but be the best informed, having assisted at his examinations, who did withal aver he never saw Piety and Valour better or more temperately mixed in one Person; Nor was he found, as the same Lord attested, in any untruth. I confess that through the continual Inculcation of his Majesty's Chaplains, and others of the long Robe, he did disavow so far the Lawfulness of the Fact, which before his Conscience never blanch'd at, as he desired *The Hand that did it might be cut off*: But neither himself, nor the endeavour of the Duke's



To ascend  
a Throne  
by much  
blood un-  
safe.

Duke's Friends could procure him a sharper Punishment, than Law and Custom provides, in case of a Murder, for the meanest Subject. Nor can this Mission to the Tower be looked upon for less than the best Fortune so high a Malefactor could be capable of; Since during his abode there, which was many Weeks, he had a plentiful Diet provided for him at the King's charge. By all which it may appear, the Man was only led through strong Enthusiasms, that *Buckingham* was an Enemy to the State: An Opinion Princes ought above all things to avoid, by shunning every occasion likely to represent him cruel or implacable in the Eyes of the People, by being continually tumbling and tossing that lumber out of his way, which ought (if at all) to be removed at one and the same time, and then with as little Noise and Injustice as may be; Repetition of Punishments, Confiscations and Imprisonments being apt to be thought by those not able to see to the end of the prospect (yet most considerable for number) to result rather from the Princes Nature than emergency of the Cause, and therefore not improper to alarum the most innocent; rendring *The Fable of Hydra* an Historical Truth, the cutting off one Head producing from Kindred and Friends Hundreds in the Place, of which perhaps the major part were none before; nothing carrying a greater propensity towards Fertility than Blood. Wherefore since a Tyrant, by reason of the crooked ways that lead to an usurped Crown, holds not his safety under so conscientious a tie as a natural Prince, till he become so through Lenity, Justice and Continuance; It behoves him to be more moderate in the Prosecution of others, lest through their Innocency, either Real or Imputative, his own Prevarications should be kept in remembrance. And, for a vindication of the contrary practice, *Machiavel* presents as his best pattern to the House of *Medici* (that had not only at first surreptitiously gotten, but did after re-gain, through the mediation of like Arts, the Principality of *Tuscany*) *Cesar Borgia*, who was

was found to remove all Enemies and Obstructions out of his way in gross, and not dribling by retail : The People being as partial in their Pity, as ready upon the apprehension of Injustice and Cruelty to exercise a more extravagant Tyranny of their own. For though a frequent punishing of single Persons may stop the Mouth of this Monster for a time, it doth more increase than diminish its desire to bite, upon the approach of a small advantage, which is far easier found than may be imagined. Wherefore no cause of Discontent can in Prudence be admitted, but what is squeezed out by Necessity, but rather Lenitives applied : The Multitude being of so brutish a Nature, as to become more pliant to Obedience through Stroking, than Smart, especially if any thing they fear lies in the way, or where that they Love is removed ; it remaining beyond peradventure, that Clemency did never occasion Repentance, but in case of Examples or Competitors, Blood being like Opium, which taken in a just proportion causeth quiet, but that once exceeded, *Death*. Or if Patience and Connivance should find their Virtue lost in some incorrigible Natures, yet the Errour were easily redeemed ; whereas Cruelty is of so staining a quality, that, like the Scorpion, nothing can expunge it, but what results from its own Nature. Now where this Moderation is observed, and all Liberties, Honours, and Immunities religiously preserved, I apprehend no more cause of Grief than the English had occasion for Joy, when they exchanged King *Richard* the III. for *Henry* the VII. It remaining indubitable, that however the First might be a Murderer, he did not with the Second, oppress the People : Wherefore such as call him Tyrant, offer violence to a number of good Laws he made ; and shew too much partiality, if they esteem him the better Prince that broke them ; Kings that succeed by Birth, acknowledging no obligation to any but their Ancestors : Whereas *Richard* endeavoured to gain the Love of the Nation, and did so far prevail, as to have

an Army appear for him against the Duke of *Lancaster*, in those days the Darling of the Commons, and where in were divers of quality; a strong presumption of a juster and milder temper in Government, than the ignorant and partial Historians of those times are found to record; so as though he may be reckoned amongst the worst of Men, his Laws will recover him a place with the best of Kings, And no bad precedent for those that may at first ascend, contrary to the Custom of a considerable part of the people; whose Affections do cool or heat proportionably to their fears and oppressions, which none ought to continue; A doubtful condition being the most terrible to Man.

*That Monarchy  
most durable,  
that's  
founded  
on the best  
Policy.*

46. Tho' *Alexander* and *Cesar* among the Ancients, and the King of *Sweden* in our days, may be thought to receive their Impulses from the Lord of Hosts; Yet the damps and chill proceedings that fell upon the designs, especially of the first and last after their decease, may give us leave to observe, How in all ages such Nations have flourished most and longest as were able to maintain the choicest Prudence at the Helm: For want of which, after *Alexander's* Death, the *Grecian* Monarchy was weakned, and in a manner lost, in the Division his Captains made of it; each taking for his share so great a proportion, as his own Dexterity, or the Love of the Colony he commanded, gave him the power to grasp; opening through this means an entrance for the *Roman* Conquest, which followed next, and, by reason of a better Establishment, did longer endure. From whence it may be supposed, That the Fortune of *Greece* lay more in the Hands, than that of the *Romans* in the Heads of their Founders: Wisdom having proved in all Ages more prevalent, at long running, than Success; which may become sometimes the Dowry, but never the Inheritance of a Fool, or the owners of no farther discerning Spirits than the present. The Reason great Atchievements do not seldom Terminate no better than in the ruine of his Name, Fame, and Family, that did at first bring them about;



about; the Advancement of which is only able, if any thing be (an Opinion ever doubted of) to palliate the Blood, Labour and Hazzard, such undertakers run for the present, without casting up what attends them in future. Nor can I readily call to mind an Usurper that did ever better compose his Affairs, than William Duke of Normandy, who, after the defeat of Harold, the last great Card likely to endanger his Game, is not reported continually to face the Nation of England with an Army (of no less terrible aspect always to the People, than it is of dangerous consequence sometimes to the Issue of a Prince after the death of his Father; Their continual readiness in being, affording them the fairest opportunity to chuse a Successor) yet did secretly maintain a convenient Militia out of the spoils allotted to such as had imbarcked their Fortunes with his; not passing any Land from the Crown, but upon Contract with the owners to assist him at his Call, with a proportion of Horse and Men suitable to their Estate; a Covenant not hard to be performed by such whose well-being lay wholly inclusive with his: And of these Tenants for Men and Arms there were not a few, as appears in the Register yet remaining of their Names, amongst whom I am not ashamed to find those of Father and Mother: Nor did the mustering of these in every County, and upon all occasions fail to answer, though with far less expence and universal terror, all the ends an Army can serve for. Thus by concealing his Rod, and sparing the peoples purses, he shewed them the Nation might be as Happy under a foreigner, as a Native, one Family as another: not possibly to be done but by removing out of the peoples eyes all appearance of Oppression: There lying so vast a difference between the Regiment of Love and that of Fear, as This may chance to stand, but That is never likely to fall: All which is said, not to condemn any contrary Practice, but modestly to shew, where divers ways lead to one and the same end, the least destructive to the general quiet ought to be taken, in Policy, if not in Conscience.

Tyranny  
not only  
natural  
but neces-  
sary.

47. The Weight of Superiours will be born with the less anxiety and perturbation, if we seriously consider, That Oppression and Tyranny is not only Natural, but Necessary to preservation. For if the stronger Creatures did not spoil and devour the Weaker, the whole Mass of Animals would perish by Famine; or stifle for want of room. Since the Earth and Sea, Nature's Magazines for provisions, are not able to sustain the Stock, a despicable Mouse or Pilchard would in a small time swell to, did they not become the Food of others. Wherefore wise Providence hath matched every things strength, in their respective Gradations, with such proportionable Antagonists, that they are all contained within the compass of a just proportion (like a nest of Boxes) through a restraint from such as own a greater extent in power. And to counterpoise the wisdom in Man, which renders him subordinate to none but his particular Species, the same Providence doth permit him to be actuated by such impetuous Passions and brutish Desires, as, through the Mediation of Excess, Covetousness and Ambition, he becomes the Moderator, no less than Destroyer of his own kind. The Sword receiving from these a daily Commission in one place or other to kill and slay. And where this is too little to ballance the Incomes of Lust, an over repletion calls in Pestilence and Famine to turn the Scales. All which cannot be Voted Plagues, but in a respective sense, as only relating to such as perish in them; since a great, if not the most considerable part do receive benefit by it, and Nature her delight, which seems to reside in variety. All this considered cannot but bear witness for Seneca's Truth, *That nothing would accept of Life upon such hard conditions as the Creature doth undergo, if it lay in its power to refuse*: whose being, together with the continuance in it, is imposed without any primary consent at all, or future, but for the dread of falling into a worse: Adorning the glorious Chariot of Nature in this World, till like withered flowers they be laid aside by the same hand first gathered them out of

of Nothing, and still preserves their Root through the act of Generation, by which they are led in a brutish Sensuality to betray Posterity, to the same Inconveniences, those capable of reason cannot but apprehend incapable of compensation from the highest tasted content this World affords; that whirls about in a continual circulation, changing the Forms, but not the Nature of things. Wherefore though it appear against the decree of Providence to obstruct the course of Generation, it may not be undecent to mind Christians, that the great reluctancy usually found in them towards Death, doth not only question their integrity in Religion, but understanding; else they would never adjourn, by so much labour and anxiety of spirit, what Nature hath allotted from all in general, without the exception of any thing capable of Life: who may enjoy a free prospect of all her beauties, though possibly not of every Malignity, within the revolution of a year, if not during the shorter space of 24 hours; our time being composed of day and night; the rest appearing merely but a Repetition of the same thing. Now since it is the sin of Knowledge, to under-rate what hath already passed by her in the visible apparitions of Experience; so it may not unpossibly be as great a mistake in Ignorance, to overvalue all she never tried: and consequently becomes the cause of the general Terror apprehended in Death, the only deprivation of temporal pain, the farthest confines of the Land of Knowledge, beyond which nothing is discovered, but what is engraven upon the Pillars of Faith, read and interpreted according to the Dialect of the Place, and manner of the Erudition, it is our luck to fall under, and out of the verge of which (without a miraculous inspiration) it is next to impossible for a Man to extend his Belief. Wherefore in any Condition to leave the World unwillingly, or with an unsettled hope (since 'tis the decree of nature, and condition of our birth, not to continue us here) cannot but appear in the eyes of discretion, no less manly than Christian,



Yet many are so unadvisedly foolish, as to multiply Deaths, through the agonies their fears raise in them, that one day they must die: the sole means left to free us from Oppression, if not to attain perfect felicity, which no servant of Christ can doubt of.

*Honesty  
and Pru-  
dence not  
inconsi-  
stent.*

48. Our Saviour would never have commanded, under a like Emphasis, Innocency and Subtilty, had he thought them incompatible, or not rather as Necessary in things Sacred as Prophane. It remaining unlikely, If not impossible (during this total Eclipse of miracles, but what reflect upon the world under the notion of Faith, which cannot be taken for other than Implicite, in any thing that depends or relates to a more foreign witness than our own) to keep Uu-ty within the bonds of Peace, but through Policy or (if you had rather have it so) Prudence: Though *Hooker*, who may be worthily placed on the highest shelf ever Clergy-man reached to, is not ashamed to entitle his Works by the first. Nor are the loudest bawlers against Discipline found to neglect it in their own affairs: but do rather back and improve the power of it through the force of the same arguments they laboured formerly to confute it. Making a like use of Scripture and Reason of State, as Marish-men do of their Sluces, by which they keep out the Sea, formerly owner of the place, and only employ them for the benefit of Land Floods. Wherefore Discipline, which is the same thing in the Church, as Law in the State, can be no more spared than Government it self; by which we are taught our duty to the Magistrate, who without this, will be as far to seek when to Command as we what to Obey; from whence we shall find it an easie descent into war, the greatest Hell upon Earth, and of most consequence to be avoided by people any degree short of mad men. Now since we are not only led by the example, but precepts of the Apostles, to yield obedience to our Governors, This in my apprehension avows it presumption in any, below the owners of a supream power, to question the Decency,

cy, Sanctity, or Legality of what the Church hath heretofore, or may at this present avouch. For tho' really converted into Idolatry, which is Treason against God, as the Brazen Serpent was; Or into Heresie or Sedition, which imports no less in relation to his Earthly Representatives, The Church and Prince (as the Mosaical purifications, &c. were in the days of Christ) yet it cannot warrant the hands of any single person, no not of the multitude in gross, to appear in their abolition, unless by way of petition: But to admit them as trials of their farther patience, till God inclines the heart of some lawful Power, the only place such a zeal can be safely kindled in, without threatening destruction to the whole frame. Men being commonly partial in their own care, else such as stile themselves the best of men; would never have exploded the Calling of Bishop (and suffered so many of their persons to want, though approved of in their own hearts, for men no less exemplary in their Lives, than Learning,) under no milder an aspect than Antichristian; yet did not at the same time refuse to themselves the Imperious Title at the Kingdom of Christ, under which notion the unworthiest amongst them did, only in a less volume, though in the same at a larger extent, exercise the like power over the people of God (if the Nation afford any, a Blasphemy to doubt of) as was before held Tyranny by them for the Hierarchy to administer within the circuit of a Diocese: not remembring the English Bishops have not only been Champions in the cause of Reformation, but have justified the convenience of their Discipline through the experience of the longest peace and greatest felicity *England* ever enjoy'd, and with the effusion of the least blood; which these had the fortune or will to be aspersed by. I confess what hath been said, is something beyond my intent, though much short of, &c. Yet the consideration of this little, may furnish out a competent proportion of Charity both at home and abroad to restrain us from taking any publick

Scandal: since the most, if not the worst of things the rigid and precise blanch at in our daies, were at the beginning set up to as plausible an end as they labour now to pull them down: The first intention of which, cannot be quite lost to any, but such as abuse them to a contrary sense to what they are first intended for; any more than a Mortal misapplication of a wholesome Drug, by an ignorant Emperick, can render it Poyson in the hands of a Learned Physician. The same may almost be said of all the Controversies in Christendom, where the Priests have reduced our guidance to Heaven into a gainful Art, by rendring the ways thither so easie, as to be bought, or so difficult, as to be little less than Impossible to be found.

*The opinion that good works merit, very natural.*

49. I have often endeavoured the contrary, yet could never longer than during some humble extasie, separate any good work in my self or another, from the Opinion of Merit; Though no mans Education and Faith did ever more bandy against it. From whence I have been often ready to conclude it as natural in Religion as Reason: For though a Pepper-corn doth in no sense quadrate with the value of a great Copyhold, yet it doth serve to answer (as far as we are able) the will of the Donor, and in that sense alone, through the mediation of Christ, Heir apparent to our Sovereign Landlord, it becomes acceptable it self, though far below our duty. For though, as a Christian of the Reformed Church, I confess the principal ingredients in our Creed uncapable of reaching, but by the hand of Faith; yet where the seeds of good works are not mixed, Religion grows flatulent and Hypocritical; It being far easier and cheaper to refrain open and negative Sins, than to perform the more chargeable affirmative duties of Charity: which if they were pressed home, not only in Pulpits, but Practice, and every one Conscientiously examined, whether he professeth Sanctity to gain an Heavenly or an Earthly Inheritance, you would see Hypocrisie sneak away like the young man in the Gospel, who was ready to

ride



ride post to Heaven, provided he might carry his riches behind him. Now to prove Hypocrisie and Uncharitableness are the crying offences of this Age, consider how many have, with *Zacheus*, met and compounded by Restitution for what they may not have peradventure come by so well. And in relation to Governours, to whose wiser Considerations I humbly offer these few following Observations, if they shall be pleased to cast their Eyes upon the Nation of the Jews, and enquire in what Condition they stood at the coming of our Saviour, and till *Vespasian* besieged *Jerusalem*, they shall find not only their Sins but destruction proceeded from Hypocrisie; which doth wholly rob the Prince of that benefit might be made of Religion, by converting it into a meer outside and deceivable Godliness, far more destructive to Government than Atheism it self; hiding under the Cloak of Piety such wicked Designs as open Prophaneness was never found to bring about. Nor doth Reason or Experience afford better means to develt this mask, than by restoring Love and Charity to their ancient Splendour, and rendering them only the marks of Confidence and ways to Preferments: The sense of Honour having been found alone more conducing to Fidelity, than the bare forms of an over precise Zeal in the company of covetousness, with which at this day more are thought to converse than suits with the honour of their profession or safety of the State, to whom I recommend a timely reformation of these pretending Reformers, of all but themselves.

*Hypocrisie  
more destructive  
to Government than  
Atheism.*

50. If *Lucian* found cause to upbraid the ordinary Scribes in his Days, for owning more Knowledge and Piety to their Gods in their supercilious Aspect, and spurious Censures of others, than they were really Masters of themselves: What may we judge of the no less Hypocritical than Theatrical over-actings in ours; Where it is ordinary with Men to bear the impress in their Fore-heads and Looks (like Mountebanks Bills) of more Sanctity, than the most exact Observer

*Contravertes weakly  
handled,  
prejudice  
the Truth.*

server can note in their Lives or Commerce. Who fill those Rooms, Swearing and Prophaneness was wont to take up in Taverns and Plays, with more Blasphemous and uncharitable Censures and Imprecations in the Church, against any Judgment looking a-squint upon theirs, though in things meerly Philosophical, and undetermined. Nor are their Books free from the leaven of Hypocrisy and Malice, especially if not able to answer the Spirit of Reason, he they oppose is armed withal, nor the People willing upon their bare Warrant to stone the contrary Party, for then, like painted Jezebel, the lively image of an Hypocrite, they proclaim him a Blasphemer against God and the King. Forgetting, that though a State may be endamaged through the discovery of an Error, God and Nature are not gratified in the persecution of Truth. Yet these Anti-Veritarians are such professed Antagonists to all the most probable new Ideas in Philosophy or Reason, not hitherto screw'd up to the highest pitch; and in the mean time advancers of Enthusiasms in Religion, know through the Mercy and Sufferings of Christ to be long since sufficiently revealed: That with the Red Dragon in the Wilderness, they seek to destroy both Parent and Child: Of which failing they Vomit out a Flood of Insignificant Words and Reproaches against them, to the discouragement and obstructing all future endeavours. *Wisdom, like Water in a Well, not exceeding an ordinary height, till pumped or allured by Emulation or Honour.* Nor is there a more probable way to stop the Mouths of these railing *Shimei's* that Curse and cast Dirt upon those  *Davids* which labour to quell Ignorance, the uncircumcised Philistine of the World, than by appointing all Books of Controversies to be garbled, and if found not strong enough for their Adversary, to restrain them from Silence, cannot prejudice Truth comparably to an over-weak Defence, manifest in Religion, and if maturely considered as palpable in Philosophy. Yet these bold Attachers of Wits do at first gain such credit with ordinary Readers,

ders, upon a presumption they durst not assault these excellent Spirits but in an assurance of greater Illumination of their own; that they buy their Books, through which Ignorance becomes encouraged and Knowledge depraved, by a discovery of small Faults and perverting the Sense of more excellent Things. And thus Fools fall into esteem for noting the Blemishes in wise Men, and they accounted Simple, for wanting that absolute Perfection no ways attainable in this World. The Students of Reason in our Days lying under the heavy fate the Mathematicians did of old, in being thought Conjurers and Atheists; an Indictment I doubt not but the more refined Judgment, if not of this Age, of the next, will acquit the one of, as clear, as it hath the other. Wherefore in case of such purblind Censurers, make them rather the Objects of Scorn than Anger or Reproof. Such carping Natures resembling Dogs, more encouraged and better gratified by the sharpest Answer, than none at all, upon which they commonly give over, or meet with a fouler Blow from a Stander-by, and one never thought of, than you may decently give in your own Cause.

51. All things quadrating with Interest or Affection, Interest though in their own Natures Wicked and Unjust, do *never unfurnished* labour to be furnished with such fair Pretences, as may *furnished of fair* palliate the throws of Conscience: through which use *Pretences, or suborning Conscience.* becomes able with the Stomach to convert Poyson into Nourishment, and the most enormous Sins and Cruelties into Comeliness and Zeal.

52. No Security can be given or taken either single or reciprocal between the Prince and People but an *Oaths become* Oath; held in all Professions, sacred, and its breach of *Traps of the Innocent, where Conscience is unthroned.* dreadful consequence, till the Pope, arrogating the absolute Power of Christ's high Chancellor upon Earth, did dispense (under the Notion of Equity, Justice and Necessity) with the breach of all Laws, both Civil and Divine, (among which Perjury is Inclusive) and so from an undeniable Inference, Religion it self, superscribed by our blessed Saviour within this narrow Circuit of Love



Love to God and our Neighbour, on every side invaded through this high violation Faith, no less destructive to the Conscientious than Impotent, and only advantageous to Princes and Subjects liquorish after Profit and Sovereignty: Who, by reason of a vaster Power are able to perpetuate the greater Mischiefs, and so most likely to be aimed at by God in his first Institution of this most sacred Bond, in which his own Name and Honour is made the Pledge: And therefore his patient passing the breach of it by in this World raiseth no less Confidence in the Atheist that he shall never be punished, than assurance in the Godly his Reward is not to be expected upon Earth.

The *Netherlands* after their Revolt, framed an Oath for the whole League, wherein all those formerly taken to the King of *Spain* were without exception or any manner of qualification Abjured: By which I could understand no less when I read it, but that they called God himself to attest, that his Name was become of no validity. Which to speak plain English, was as much as to forswear all Opinion of Religion or Sanctity in Swearing. I do not think my Judgment of an extent large enough to span the height of such an Impiety as a National or Regal Perjury extends to, no more than the temporal Mischief it may bring to a Commonwealth, by giving Subjects an occasion to think the Articles of Faith, virtually inclusive in an Oath, are of no more validity, than Interest, through the mediation of Power, is pleased to afford them. Yet it may imbolden me to believe, that those learned among the Catholicks do not with us look upon Conscience as a distinct Quality or natural Indowment of Man, but meerly acquired by custom at the mediation of Shame or Loss, which upon the working or boyling of the Memory, is taught to approve This, or dislike That, according to the esteem the Opinion of the Place, and Company they most commonly converse with, are pleased to rate it at; *The smallest morsel of Flesh taken into the Stomach upon a fasting Day clogging it more,*

than

than a whole armful of that which is more sinful doth in a Bed. Nor are they less troubled at the Memory of Losses and apprehension of Dangers, than Offences against God; the which do not seldom produce far greater Agonies and Despairs: The Blood of ten Men in Italy being digested with less reluctancy, than the glance of a Rival's Eye. Wherefore we may imagine, they do really believe no such thing, but look upon Conscience not only as a room in the memory, that stood empty till the Fall, but a meer bubble, in the imagination, which fear and hope by the assistance of use, can blow, like a glass in what fashion or bigness they please, shewing there, to the Life represented, good or bad, according to the tincture a former suborned Passion may have dipped them in: And this (wisely view'd) will be found of no more solid substance, or drawn by no steadier hand than custom or education, nor set in a more durable frame than that of Fantasie. And from this undervaluing of Conscience (the security of the good and terror of the wicked,) the validity of Oaths is lost, or converted into traps to catch the innocent, and unadvised.

53. Conscience is no less sway'd through particular Interest, than the rest of passions or accidents incident to Memory. Manifest in our *Henry* the eight, perhaps no more guilty than all Princes else, who at his Death looked upon the delivering *Empson* and *Dudly* (Instruments of his own and his Fathers Oppression) to the fury of the People, as a Sin of a deeper tincture, than the number of Murdered persons his remembrance could not but at that time present him with. From whence we may conclude our selves in nothing more apt to be abused, than in the calculation of our own Faults and Merits: And so, much unlikely to give a just estimate of those belong to others.

54. How darest thou (O Man!) Judge another? carrieth such an awful sound in my apprehension, as I cannot but tremble at the general boldness one Profession takes to condemn another; so as none lie capable of

Where  
Conscience is  
sway'd by  
Interest,  
there is no  
true judgement of  
either  
Faults or  
Merit.

Difference of  
Judgement a  
wrong  
ground or  
alienation  
of affection.  
Salva-

Salvation under an universal consent; This Church Anatheimatizing what the next receives; which cannot but proceed from the more damnable root of uncharitableness; every where condemned throughout all Religions extant. Though equally culpable in imposing a restraint upon every way to Heaven, but what custom and education hath rendred familiar to themselves; each being really, or in their suborned imaginations supposed able to detect Error and Absurdity in all Divine Worship beside their own. Wherefore this humor being universal, if not natural, it ought to cut off all particular Feuds, and mitigate the rigor of Law, and severity of every respective Prince; who can only justifie (and that perhaps rather to his particular conveniency, than the Deities universal mercy) the raising a persecution upon no higher provocation than Opinion, in no mans power to rectify, but upon a manifest conviction of his Judgment.

Now since it is no prodigy in the Schools, for two Disputants to quarrel about one and the same thing, hid from them only through the nicety of Distinctions, why may not such Protestants as measure the Catholick Profession by the ordinary standard of the Court of Rome, take, not only a false, but an uncharitable survey, and too far to the disadvantage of that Church, which hath professed Christianity ever since the Apostles time, and may look no more as Canonical upon all, the Pope for his honour and profit maintains, than we take for legal every Injunction that passed from the King or Council-Table? Many Ceremonies being admitted for order, splendor, and decency, (which under correction, I may say, cannot be spared in less Corporations) that are not essential to salvation, and confessed of no more validity, than what they receive from the Inspiration of power: wherefore meerly local, and of no larger extent than his Holiness's Authority doth naturally, or is suffered through the Indulgence of Princes to reach. Nor doth the redundant Zeal of our English Papists (not to give it a courser Epithete) deserve less pity than admira-

*The redundant Zeal of the Papists to be pitied and admired.*



admiration; through which they are so far blinded, as not to see the Popes Supremacy concerns them no more in point of Salvation, than it did the Subjects of *England* heretofore, whether a Lord spiritual or temporal should pass the door first. It being impossible but such punctilio's at the beginning should result from humane institution or connivance of Kings, from whose benevolence or ignorance these Appellations and that Power reached to the Bishop of *Rome*, and not from him whose Vicar he pretends to be; our Saviour Christ owning no such Jurisdiction or extent of Earthly Power. It is confessed, I should look upon that Englishman as a betrayer of the honour of our Nation, that denies the Kings claim to *France*, because his Ancestors once had it in Possession. Yet did I own Land and a Being there, it were a high folly, if not Treason to maintain it upon the place: The Title having possibly as justly reverted to them again, as it was at first assumed by us. Yet such power hath the present fear of losing their interest in future felicity, that it doth not only stifle the sense of reason and concernment, but the apprehension of Martyrdom it self, which might altogether inform them, that since the Bishop of *Rome* converseth not here suitable to our Saviour, who was so far from disposing of Earthly Kingdoms, as he refused to divide a particular Inheritance, Interest may not possibly lead him out of the way in other things: For though an Infallibility should be granted him, in what relates to the Church, 'tis more than the Cardinals themselves will admit in what is purely civil; It being none of the Articles of our Creed, that Christ was an earthly Prince or had any other Sovereignty over Kings, but as God over all. Yet since this misled people receive no advantage of their errours, as some hypocritical Schismaticks may be imagined to do, it cannot but raise pity in you towards them, and charity to your self, in case Fortune should cast you in any region under the Popes Jurisdiction, who owning a temporal power no less than a spiritual, may not possibly

possibly punish in more Prudence than you can suffer. Wherefore, leaving behind you all obstinacy and prejudice, consider whether the Sign of the Cross may not with more Piety be admitted, than Baptism wholly neglected, or the Bread in the Sacrament only taken, rather than the Seal of our Covenant quite omitted. Yet I desire you to look upon all is said under the notion of an Advice, not a Command.

*The Conclusion, exploding Atheism.*

§5. I hold in Charity no less than Commerce with all sorts of People, that do acknowledge a divine and universal Providence: But abominate those that have the Impudence, no less than the Indiscretion to deny it, openly in their Words, or tacitely in their Actions; as such cannot but be thought to do, that destroy others under a pretence of Sanctity, meerly to enrich themselves; who deny God no less in his Justice, than the other in his Power. Since without a Creator, Man must be the product of a Contingency, together with all things extant, if not the maker of himself; or, which is as prodigious, an Absurdity, nothing, out of its Strength, must have produced all Things, nor could so many descend into this low and damnable Error, were they not led by that common Calculation incident to the Creature, through which each in its respective gradation, is rendred out of Ignorance unable, or out of Pride unwilling to find a sublimer excellency than his own. The Cause, not only that the Vertues but the Gods themselves were by the Heathen represented in Humane Shapes, and their Inclinations confined to the same Sins and Passions Mortals are found subject to. It exceeding the largest extent in Nature to comprehend a higher Wisdom than its own, or to assign it a more honourable Aspect, or furnish it with richer Indowments, than her Senses and Experience hath adorned Fancy withal. The Devil being painted as White among the Negroes, as he is Black here. Wherefore Knowledge being at a Non-plus (a thing she doth naturally abhor) many, because they cannot decipher a Reason, why Providence in this World

World appears so oft in the Favour (to our seeming) of wicked and unjust Designs, and so far discourages the Good, as to leave them in the Hands of their Oppressors, they, like inconsiderate Seamen, do cut the Cable of Hope, and forsaking the Anchor of Providence, resign the conduct of all things to Fortune, who is yet so constant in her Vicissitudes (familiar to Gamesters) that in a small time she doth not only take away, but returns to every Man his Mony again. And if the World hath, for ought we know to the contrary, been till this Age ignorant in the circulation of the Blood, though the principal Engine of Life, and such a necessary, one, as every Creature moves not without, why should we rob our selves of the Comfort, and God of the Honour of Managing whatsoever happens, though yet ignorant of the manner and reason of his doing it, which hereafter we shall see revealed: The Age of Man being too short to discover every Spoke in this Wheel, that may within a span or two be twisting the destruction of those that are now at the top. Nor can any Man guess how another fares by an outward aspect taken from his Moveables, but must sleep with him and enter his Bosom, which God doth; and can no doubt by slackening of Grief in one, and winding up Fears and jealousies in another, make the World even. It being the Spring and intrinsick part of the Watch that the Workman looks after, and not the Case, though it may possibly be Gold, or some richer Materials, which the Rabble do usually cast their Eyes upon, as Children do on the Lord Mayors Pageants; admiring the Splendor of those that ride in them, who considered in their own nature are but mean Mens Issue, and thus adorned at the City cost: Yet their external Varnish doth so obstruct the Organs of Sense, as they do not perceive the poorness of the People that bear them up, no more than how long they may be able, or found willing to do it. And if Men cannot, by a serious Reflection upon their own Affairs distinguish the Operations of Providence from those of Contingency; yet

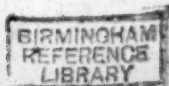
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since



since it is the most universal Opinion, and for ought ever I could hear objected to the contrary, the least obstructed from Reason or Consent, That every Creature holds its Production, no less than preservation, at the will of an Omnipotency, by us stiled, God; though the ways how he operates be beyond our Fathom, and past finding out, why should not Credulity rest at the brink of this Abyſs (by all acknowledged the least dangerous) rather than hazard all hope of future Beatitude, in the uncomfortable Gulf of a wretchless Atheism. There remaining as little visible loss to such as award all Honour to our Maker, as gain for those that deny him quite. Nor are we bereaved totally of the shadow of Omniscieny; since from a far lower Situation than Heaven, we are able at one glance to over-look a whole City, and by a single Trumpet to Alarum an Army. Yet our Senses are capable to receive no small Augmentation from the assistance of Art; an Infalible Argument that the perfection of these Qualities doth not determine in the Person of any Creature; but something paramount all that hath yet risen within the compass of our experience, it being impossible but a superlative Power should rest some where. Nor can we be competent Judges of the motions of God, that have nothing to measure by but Sense, much too weak to discern the motion of a Shadow, or the growth of a Plant, till Time hath rendred them apparent: Wherefore far unable to comprehend the Lines of Providence, Imperceptible to every Intelligence but his who hath the sole disposure of all Things. It not being probable Man should comprehend the out-goings of God, whilst he is not able to give any Reason for his own.

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49. *The opinion that good Works merit, very natural: Hypocrisie more destructive to Government than Atheism.*
50. *Controversies weakly handled, prejudice the Truth.*
51. *Interest never unfurnished of fair Pretences, for suborning Conscience.*
52. *Oaths become Traps for the Innocent where Conscience is un-  
unbroned.*
53. *Where Conscience is swayed by Interest, there is no true judgment of either Fault or Merit.*
54. *Difference of Judgment a wrong ground for alienation of affection. The redundant Zeal of the Papists to be pitied.*
55. *The Conclusion exploding Atheism.*

Poli-



*Political Reflections*  
UPON THE  
GOVERNMENT  
OF THE  
TURKS.

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*Nicholas Machiavel.* The King of Sweden's Descent into Germany. The Conspiracy of *Piso* and *Vindex* against *Nero*. The Greatness and Corruption of the Court of *Rome*. The Election of Pope *Leo* the XI. The Defection from the Church of *Rome*. *Martin Luther*.

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By FRANCIS OSBORN, Esq;

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L O N D O N,

Printed for A. and J. Churchill, 1700.



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RECEIVED FEB 20 1962

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Printed by A. and J. Churchill.

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TO THE  
READER.

Since our Blessed Saviour draws a Precedent for Prudence; from the unjust Deportment of a wicked Steward; and recommends to his followers the Subtily of Serpents, with a no less Emphasis than the Innocence of Doves; I trust (in this juncture when the Press groans to be delivered of the Burden she sustains from their more seditious and prophane Off-spring, who desire to foment War; and Christian Magistrates reckon their Subjects disobedience in the heaviest *Item*, they account for with God, in their solemn Humiliations;) I shall not be the worse esteemed by Men judicious and moderate, for taking some choice Observations out of the *Turkish Arcana*, which garbled and weighed according to the true Ballance of the Sanctuary, may not impossibly mind those at the Helm of Expedients more proper for Unity, than have yet been imployed among Christians: Where though Christ be owned under the greatest demonstration of Self-denial, yet Uncharitableness abounds, and less awful Obedience is given to God's Vice-gerents in Christian Common-wealths, than the Apostle *Paul* did award to Infidels. Nor doth the Church, set in the Firmament of Regality for the Luminary and direction of all Subjection due to our Heavenly and Earthly Guides, keep to her proper Sphere, if, from a Medium between us and our Maker, she becomes a stickler in things purely belonging to the Magistrate, our Obedience, like that of the Catholicks, must still stagger



*To the Reader.*

betwixt two Supreams; It being impossible for the best or worst of Governours to be longer in quiet, than she is pleased to permit them: And this apprehended by some (better fitted and resolved for the discovery of Errors, than able or willing to mend them) they conclude, all the mischiefs arising through the loud Fulminations, the Spirit of Contention hath, or may have, darted out of the Pulpit, flow from the Riches and Splendour of the Clergy, that upon a more serious Account may be laid to the abuse and ill administration of their Office and Power, which duly regulated, is the wholsomest Flower in the Crown of Government: It out-reaching the ken of Example to find a State happy, where the Priesthood is exposed to the Peoples Contempt, or Religion suffered to be weighed at the common Beam; which must needs happen, where their Maintenance is Scandalous, and their Persons despicable, or not vigorously protected by the Hand of Authority; to whom they do, or at least might bring Obedience, without putting it to the trouble of reward or Punishment. Nor would the Laity so much grumble at the payment of Tythes, were they wise enough to weigh the great Advantage they have through the Churches dependance on their welfare, which would be quite lost, did their maintenance drop out of the immediate Hand of the Prince, as it doth among the Turks; who are too well read in Policy, to break or dismember so useful an Engine, because it may or might, for want of Circumspection, have bruised the fingers of those it ought to preserve. But if this points at any prejudice in Church or State, I am resolved to remain no obstinate Heretick, but to cast it at the feet of the same Authority, Providence hath set me under, and for whose sake I first took it up. And this I hope will satisfy the wise Reader; but for Critical Fools, the ordinary sort of Book-worms, who, like Iron-moles, discolour the Sense, and obliterate the natural meaning of Authors, by their spurious and tart Censures; esteeming nothing fit to pass

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## *To the Reader.*

current, that hath not descended from their Ancestors, whose foulest Blots they paint over with fairer Glosses than they can find colour for in the general Ignorance (some few Pens excepted) that did then blear the Understandings of Subjects, extending in the meantime the no less innocent, if not more useful Modern Endeavours upon the cruel rack of a severe Scrutiny, till some Pretext is found for to ground Detraction upon: This I say, cannot discourage me from prosecuting what Conscience informs me may advance Settlement, who have long been taught, That the way lies to the Paradise of Peace, through the Purgatory of Censure, which all must expect to find their Sails filled with, that steer contrary to the Current of Antiquity, imagined only by idle Dunces, to have pinned the Basket: For since this Age hath the use of their Plat-forms, and the same Tools, it lies not in my Cap to apprehend, why it may not Operate as well and wisely. To conclude, such as have, or do hereafter modestly prosecute a farther revelation of Knowledge, ought not to be discouraged, or unwillingly imploy their Talents, as many do that come betrayed to the Press, or led on by Friends importunity, than their own Genius: For though their Contemporaries serve them as the Jews did the Prophets, yet when Death hath laid them out of the reach of Envy, and personal Contempt, Posterity shall not only commiserate the Cruelty of that neglect they lay under in their lifetime, but build Monuments to their immortal Fame.

THE

THE  
 TURKISH POLICY,  
 OR,  
 OBSERVATIONS  
 UPON THE  
 Government of the TURKS.

**N**O T to ascend the highest step of the Turkish Pedigree (whose primitive Actions, no less than those of the Goths, lie buried in the Rubbish their huge Vastations have formerly made through the Eastern Empire, and since in that of the West, upon the score of whose eternal reproach, they keep their Royal Port in the Imperial City:) I shall only observe the prudent Deportment of *Mahomet* (owned by all for their Founder) without taking more notice of his or their extraction, than what may serve to illustrate the following Discourse, projected rather to delineate the wise Track he hath chalked out to his Successors, and what exact followers they have been of it, (which few have done) than the Deeds themselves, usually found scored at the end of every Street. Though I believe, with great partiality, and many omissions, in relation to the shame and terrour they have brought upon Christendom (through



(through the division of whose Princes they have attained this grandeur) the Fate of their Atchievements, who want Pens of their own to Register their Stories; in which this Emperour, no less than his Successors, have been still defective: Yet he that considers what hath followed, cannot take it for an Hyperbole, to say, the main difference between *Alexander, Cesar, and Mahomet* consists in a Feather, or the Quill of a Goose.

2. He had the happiness to set up under a most auspicious juncture; the greatest Politicians then extant, being more employed in molding an Ecclesiastical Monarchy, and mending the Rents, the Schismatics of those times had made in the Church, than in improving any temporal Power, or raising Banks that might stop such an inundation, as so great a Snow-ball was likely to cause upon the face of that Earth, where-ever it came to refund.

3. His followers were owners of no vaster Understandings than might render them pliable to Labour and Discipline: Who being of a brutish and wild employment, did not only under-go the hardship of War, but were ready to yield all awful Obedience to such marks of Worship, or religious Observations, as he was pleased to impress upon their yet unsuborned imaginations: Not so easily obtained from acuter heads, who are apt to pretend a sufficiency in determining the truth or falshood of that, Authority hath allotted for an unquestioned Creed: The more to be avoided by all new Legislators, because known so pernicious to established Common-wealths and Monarchies, as the promoters of Sedition, are seldom found to take Horse at any other block than what they perceive the People aptest to stumble at, in relation to God's Worship. No Colony having been observed for to dilate it self, that held not at least so long constant to one profession in Religion, till Time and Success had estated them in a power able to resist any Enemy; by nothing easier brought about than a confident Report of some Miracle, which once riveted into the opinion of the People,

People, by Custom and Education, cannot after be removed without the hazard of all. This made him profess a daily Commerce with Angels, and pretend the terrible Fits incident to his Disease, as Holy Ecstasies, in which God did mind him of the way and means how to lead his People. And according to this Pattern, a Law was founded, so suitable to the highest Taste of humane Sensuality, and obvious to a carnal apprehension, that it was swallowed by this Rabble for the undoubted and pure Will of God, and he looked upon for his most Holy Prophet. To the advancement of which Belief their Ignorance did mainly contribute, found by experience, the strongest assertor of what she confidently believes, though in it self never so improbable. And after some farther commerce had thoroughly estated their Consciences in this persuasion, they grew zealous, that is, affectionate, and desirous to propagate where ever they came, such Opinions as their Governors had contracted them to, out of no higher sanctity at first, than to keep them entire and chaste in their Worldly obedience.

4. Neither were the Profelytes of this new Prophet checked, in the earnestness of their Pursuit after Empire, by the confluence of contrary accidents; and the number of rubs the unsteady hand of so contingent a War, could not chuse but cast daily in their way; but the more enflamed, as taking them rather for incitements to further cruelties towards others, than any stop to the unjust encroachments they made upon the Principalities of their Neighbours; looked upon by them as Enemies to God, and so, like the *Canaanites*, fit only to be eradicated, for the better ease and advantage of themselves. Or if any cross event was apprehended relating to them, they put it off as if it only concerned their Remissness in the intended Work of the Lord, which was to spoil others, and enrich themselves. This abates the wonder of their Victories, who have the Art to draw encouragement from the best or worst of successes: For through the clashing of these contrary events,

events, *Mahomet* kindled such a blind zeal amongst their overheated Ignorance, as it consumed all before them, without the least consideration had of things Sacred or Prophane.

5. And to preserve this Child of his Ambition, from being stifled in the swaddling cloths, through an overlaying of Neighbours (who were called in prudence to the crushing of such designs, had they not been rendered deaf by the janglings between the Greek and Latin Churches) *he gathers the chiefest ingredients of his Institutes out of the Gardens, both of the Jewish and Christian Religion*; leaving his Sectarists in gross, to their more loose and acceptable primitive Heathenisms; inserting few Novelties but what respected his own Person, which he doth not stile a God, though he arrogates to himself a Supremacy over all his Prophets.

6. Yet did he not only forbid the use of Images, as may be thought, in imitation of *Moses* (who by that bred such a hatred in the *Jews* against all Nations, as kept a considerable part of them from mingling to this day) but out of as deep a Reason of State, in relation to continuance: Since it is impossible, if a Nation once attains an universal prudence, but that the deceitful knack of such a carnal adoration must needs grow loathsome, or ly obvious to their Reproof that shall make it their full Employments to find Faults; and after an opportunity is easily gained, to foment a change, by discovering to the people absurdities in their Worship; which is better prevented in one directed, as his is, to the only invisible and omnipotent Creator, whose Nature and Power is so far remote from the weak Apprehensions of men, as the sharpest reason is not able to batter a Faith built solely upon it.

7. And by this prudent Election, he hath so far prevailed against the corruption of Innovation (a Rust all other Professions have contradicted in less time) as no considerable Schism hath yet broke out amongst them: For that between the *Turk* and *Persian*, lies rather in the Genealogy of their Prophets, than the body of



of the belief he first founded. At such time, lest Novelty and want of Proof should detect him too apparently, he takes *Abraham* into his Party, whom he owns for the Father of himself and his Followers; giving a no less honourable Character of Christ and his Mother, to please the Christians, than of *Moses* to amuse the *Jews*; yet hath no milder design than the destruction of them both. And by this universal Compliance, he rendred his detestable Errors more glib to the wide swallow of that Ignorance the World did then gape withal: The cause his Doctrine was embraced by as unquestioned a Belief, as that of the *Jew* or Christian, whom they look upon as owners of more improbable Opinions than theirs, and less tending to the Honour of that universal Goodness which respects the profit and well-being of his Creatures.

8. In relation to whom the *Turks* Sabbath, no less than the *Jews*, was without doubt instituted, to give a Comfortable Relaxation to the poor Beast, as well as Slaves, whom *Moses* observed to lead a life in *Egypt*, worse than death it self. Therefore he derives the Institution of the Sabbath, from the mouth of God, to be of no less Antiquity than the Creation. And on this day men were suffered to do no labour, but to keep a holy rest unto the Lord; by which a Terroure was struck into the Contemners of the Law, and a great Love and mutual Confidence infused among Neighbours, no small promoters of Conquest; such standing closest in time of danger as are of nearest relations in Religion and Friendship. Besides, these Weekly Meetings do much civilize a Nation, satisfying no less the minds of the zealous, than they moderate the passions of the Factious and Disobedient, by the great alloy received from the solemn Devotion observable in their Priests, who use such humble prostrations, and catching Ceremonies, in the exercise of their Divine Rights (which yet admit of no scandal, because prosecuted in suit of no Representation, but to the imploring of the only Omnipotent God, in whose service all things are to be

be employed) as such are terrified into an Obedience of the Law, out of a future Fear that could not else be restrained by a present secular danger, or after-hope; imagining a number of possibilities to hide that from Men, which nothing is able to cover from the sight of God.

9. Of such vast concernment is a grave and prudent Clergy to well-being, though of late much slighted among some sort of Christians, not so wise as to observe that the Eye for the most part, is caught before the Heart; and that Austerity and Reverence in external Worship (if divested of all advantages else) cannot be denied to have a huge operation upon Obedience to the Civil Magistrate. It being unlikely, that such as take Decency in divine Worship for Idolatry, should not soon be worn out of Reverence to their Governments, since the most destructive Parity begins always in the Church.

10. No Law is more intent upon the Honour and Profit of Monarchy, than the *Turks*: For though a Monk had a finger in the Pie, yet *Mahomet* was so skilful as to season it to his own palate. Neither were many Christian Princes less absolute at first, than he, till their Subjects by Money, Importunity, or Arms had moderated their power, which we do not find this Nation ever went about; Servitude, by Use, becoming a second Nature. But had their Ordinances, like ours, been voted by such a Composition of Estates, wherein the Priest-hood had made the principal ingredient, for Wisdom, if not Authority, it is very possible they might have more related to Religion; which, like the *Indian* Fig-tree, is of so vast an extent, as it hath been able, not only to harbour an Host of Churchmen; but their Bag and Baggage, together with all the plunder they are able to make, by breaking the Hearts, and ransacking the more tender Consciences of Dying-men: as is apparent in *Rome*, and might have been the same at *Meca*, had he not prevented it by a choicer prudence, than our Emperours have formerly contributed to their affairs.

11. Nor

11. Nor is it a contemptible Paradox to maintain, that the *approach of Ruin or Slavery to a Nation, is visible at first in a too Rich or Meagre Face of the Church.* That causing a Consumption, by sucking too much from the Estates and Power of the Laity, as this doth a Fever, by putting all into a present hazard, under the destructive pretence of an over-heated zeal. The same counsel being necessary to all Princes, in relation to Religion, and the guiders of it, as *Phaeton* is said to receive from his Father, when he undertook the conduct of the Horses of the Sun; The Church being a Planet of that nature, that if it soar too high, it choaks Vertue and Sanctity in the superfluous Ceremonies, she is apt to produce; which like too much paint, adulterates the face of Truth: but if she be kept too low, it doth not only burn and consume all superfluous excrescencies, but Decency and Order; Allays, without which we can have no Uniformity in a Religious commerce: Since the Mysteries of our Salvation cannot be presented to us but in Earthen Vessels; from whence, if they did not retain some tincture, we could not so naturally own them as relating to us: Nay, an indiscreet zeal doth so far participate of the qualities of the Air ove-heated, that it hatcheth the Plagues of Rebellion where ever it is found, pretending their Prince negligent in Religion, or too exorbitant in his affection to Court-Minions, or an infringer of the Law, and obstructor of Justice; weapons of Sedition, easily forged, if not found to lie ready before the Gates of the best of Kings; which subtil men snatch up, and put into the hands of such, as they have formerly intoxicated with a desire of Reformation, who seldom give over, till they meet their own ruin, or the Sates.

12. If *Mahomet* exceeded the Commission of Discretion, in swelling his Alcoran to so large a Volume, (multiplicity of words breeding, in the same plenty, Ambiguities, among Divines as Lawyers:) Yet he provided against this inconvenience, with as much caution as a by-past error is capable to admit, in prohibiting

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ting the Reading of it to any but the Priests, and the Interpretation to all but the Mufty. For though the Jews were enjoyned to score the Commandments on the Walls, as they did wear them after written on their Cloaths; yet none but the High-Priest was suffered to enter into the Holy of Holies, or make any near approach into the innermost place of the Temple, from whence the Oracles did proceed.

13. Neither is it a slight occasion of the Turkish Unity, that their Alcoran lies patent to the Exposition of none but their own Pope: And that Petitions to God are frequenter made among them than Exhortations or Sermons to the People: Because by the first they are humbled, through the repetition of their sins and wants; and by the other, puffed up with the ostentation of their good parts: Or, (if it may pass in no worse sense than it is uttered) in Praying we beg something of God we need; in Preaching he seems to demand obedience from us, which no reasonable Creature will think he can want. To say truth, the frequency of Preaching (to avoid the tedious repetition of the same thing) hath created such a Familiarity tween us and our Maker, and a Feud against all that serve him not our way; as some take the boldness to predicate, He cannot do this or that, limiting his Mercy so far as to exclude from Salvation, not only the Turks, but all the rest of the World; so small a spot excepted as a Fly may cover in an ordinary Globe. Do not these vain pleaders give the Devil more than (I hope) is his due? Contrary to the verdict passed by God himself, who said, *The Earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is*; without excepting those many and vast Territories, too happy, rich and fair, to be let out to the Prince of Darknes, by the great and magnificent Landlord of the World.

14. The whole scope of the more charitable Turkish Doctrine, concludes in these Uses; *The Honour of God, Obedience to their Prince, Mutual Love, Resolution in War*, with an invincible Patience in bearing all  
O Terrestrial

Terrestrial wants: The last, as a Hoop compassing the rest, by which they are rendred the rightest Vessels against Sedition, and the aptest to retain all things necessary to compliance in Government.

15. Yet, the more to strengthen this tie upon the Subject, all hope of perfect Happiness in this World is suppressed, and their Imaginations wholly engaged on that which is to come: By this, the fear of lapsing into grosser Idolatry, or profounder Atheism, is prevented; being bred only in expectation of Misery here, and so more guilty than sensible of that ridiculous folly *David* so much upbraids them with, that consume time in the service of Gods that have neither Eyes to see, Ears to hear, nor Wills to help such as pray to them: For this Stupidness once found in that we have been taught to make the Object of our Worship, and joyning Forces with the Afflictions, that do ordinarily attend the Best, and the Blessings not observed to baulk the most Impious: This, I say, doth often hurry such as have had their hopes deluded, or adjourned beyond the extent of a small Faith, into wretchless Infidelity, or which is worse, a low and despicable Opinion of their Maker; avoided by the Mahometans, who look for no remoter causes of Afflictions, than what result from personal Miscarriages, or the will of those in Authority; assigning their Maker an higher employment than the attending or accomplishing our earthly desires, which if attained, they might possibly hinder us from greater in Heaven, to which this World is but a troublesome and dark Passage. Nor can the Turks prevarications upon a most partial Scrutiny, bear that stress of wickedness the more feared Consciences of some Christians disdainfully endure, manifest in the French Massacre; the foulness of which Story hath not yet been matched by *Mahomet*, or any of his Disciples, never found to have born such bitter Fruit.

But not to insist upon the Equity or Reason of their Law, it gives them (as the Priests manage it) a satisfactory pretence, to esteem all ways decent and consonant

sonant to Religion, that are able or likely to enlarge their Empire : Not questioning the Quarrel no more than the future Happiness of such Souls as have the Fate to expire in it. And if upbraided herewith, they desire the Pope to Catechize his most Catholick Son, how he came by *Portugal, Naples, Milan, Sicily, &c.* And what Warrant is he able to produce from the Avenger of Blood, that might Authorize him to shed that Ocean he let out in *America*, upon no more serious occasion than Gold, and the Conversion of the People into Slaves to dig it? Can there be a ranker Blasphemy offered against the Lord of Hosts than to set up his Standard in so vast and sanguine a Field of Ambition; and the Cross of his Son in a greater Golgotha than that wherein he was crucified? And all this under pretence of Religion, as if God were less jealous of the Honour of his Church, than the Priests were of their Temple, into the Verge of which they would not admit the Price of Blood; much less then can the Judge of all things accept the Persons of those that shed it.

16. The awfulness the Turks bear to the Name of God is so great, that they dare not employ the Paper wherein they find it written to any base Office, but leave it hid in a hole to the farther disposure of the Owners providence; and therefore possibly not so likely as Christians (who observe no such decency) to call it to the witness of an untruth; much to the advantage of Governors there, as it might be in *Christendom*, did Custom or Law screw the Peoples minds up to as high an esteem of it. Neither would this lessen, but increase the benefit States-men make by dispensing with its Abuse, which is now so often and grossly practised, as it is apparent to the multitude, who are apter to follow the Example of their Kings, than the Doctrine of their Teachers; and might, (if any Apparation of Justice or Religion were extant in their Governors) have their Passions, as the *Turks*, stirred up to approbation or dislike, proportionable to the more or less dis-



mal relations their Priests read to them out of their Mahumetan Legend; so much the more excusable, because the awe born to these, though but Fictions, doth help to spare the more ungrateful Rod, the too frequent use of which hath in all times, produced more Fear than Love.

17. This proves, *A false Religion doth contribute more to Safety, than Atheism*, or a stupid Neglect of all Worship; and that a Clergy is of Excellent Concernment, provided they keep close in their Doctrine, to Reason of State; not to be brought about, but through the mediation of their own Interest, by nothing so easily biassed, as Comfortable Livings and severe Deaths or Punishments, in case their Exhortations go contrary to the grain of the Civil Government; whose Administrators have not so much Cause to complain of the Church-men for their Recoiling, since by their frequent setting upon the People, they taught them at last to worry themselves: their Tongue like a Sword, being as well able to wound one side as another, and moves according as it is inclined by profit or fear: Neither can any breach they have formerly made in the affairs of their Patrons, disparage the Calling, more than it doth a piece of Ordnance, that being lost through imprudence and miscarriage, doth after batter down the house of her Founder; since all their Fulminations tend that way, to which the Hand that fills their Bellies is pleased to direct them; there being none easier warped than they, nor more violent Assertors of what their own Wisdom or the World's Folly hath given them leave to call Theirs, as were easily deducible from their frequent changings; which gives me the boldness to believe, that if all, which is without question the Churches, were restored, and the dignity of their Tenets and Calling vindicated, the truly honest would comply with any Government, out of Conscience, and the rest, batter contrary Parties in hope of Preferment.

Such as look upon the Mahumetan Profession as of the grosser Alloy, because so far subservient to Worldly Policy, that the Grandees and Priests, like Juglers, carry the coal of zeal only in their mouths, not being heated themselves with what they go about to enflame others; suffering the Threats and Promises to raise no higher, or fall no lower, than suits with the Politick reaches of the Prince: may find other Courts standing in as prophane a posture, especially that of *Rome*, (not unworthily looked upon for the Magazine from whence the rest of the World is supplied, with Wisdom, shall I call it, or Deceit) where Church-men, like Burning-Glasses, cast the Rays of a Celestial Fire into the Consciences of others; carrying in the meantime, themselves, a cold, Crystalline, and Fragil Creed, towards what they endeavour to inform the People; taking upon them a publick Cure of Souls, out of a no more religious respect, than to provide against their private wants; yet connived at here, as well as by all wise Princes else; because Law can promote no Good, nor prevent Evil, but what is open to publick Cognizance; whereas Religion penetrates so low, as to erect a Tribunal in every mind, where imagination sits like a terrible Judge, pronouncing the charge she hath been taught from Power, Custom, and Education; which, through the compunction of a tender Conscience doth so rack the most intrinsick thoughts of all prepossessed with the dread of a future account, as they do not seldom confess themselves guilty of such heinous offences, as none else are able to accuse them for; expecting more ease from the sentence of the publick Magistrate than they can find in their private Consciences, which daily excruciate them with the torments of Hell, and the loss of Heaven. To conclude, *by the heat of Religion many vertues are hatched, and more Vices stifled in the shell.*

18. Yet little is observable in the Rites of *Mahomet*, that is Chargeable to perform, or Grievous to the Nature of Man. Perhaps the cause why Sacrifice is not taken

taken in, amongst the number of things borrowed from the *Jews*; as thinking it incongruous with a Divine Essence, to be appeased or delighted by the loss and blood of poor Creatures, incapable of the will, or power to transgress, though the inclination to Oppression, Covetousness, and Cruelty, is no more a stranger to their Natures than ours; which proves Sin an effect of Law and Constraint, rather than of Liberty or Nature. But the People of God had a higher Prospect from these bloody Ceremonies, than the dark Mist about *Mahomet* would suffer him, or any other out of the true Church to apprehend; else Wolves, and not Sheep, had furnished their Altars. Neither did this new State-Founder believe any merit could reside in a voluntary Maceration, or Prosecution of our Bodies, (as if the most merciful God, confessed to have prepared in future all Cœlestial beatitudes for those that love him, should for the present so far divest that nature, as to delight to see us miserable) which makes me think, that the putting out of their Eyes before the Tomb of their Prophet (now in use among them) to prevent the sight of any thing after, and the wearing of such huge and painful Rings in the most tender parts of their bodies, grew not from any institute of his, but are rather Bastards of that Church, reputed for nothing more justly, the Whore of *Babylon*, than for burning her Profelytes with such exorbitant zeal, as the *Anchorits* and *Monks* are led by, when they whip and stigmatize themselves, out of a hope to purchase Heaven: A Lunacy superlative to theirs, who lend money in this World upon humane security, to be paid in the next by God himself; No ways suitable with this Founder's Philosophy, who would have thought it less Blasphemy, with *Putarch*, to acknowledge no God at all, than to imagine him owner of such Passions, as are unworthy, and below a Divine Essence.



19. **T**He total Abstinence from Wine is the most material Sacrament of the *Turks* Obedience to *Mahomet's* Law. Now lest any should pass it as a less pertinent piece of Prudence, than really it is, I desire those that take more delight in condemning than acquitting the actions of Antiquity, to suspend their Judgments, till these Reasons are weighed.

1. He was not so poor a Naturalist as not to know Wine effeminates, no less than enervates the body of Man; the Cause, *Sampson's* Mother, together with himself, abstained from it: otherwise he might (by the Witch, his Mistress) have been as easily charmed into Drunkenness as Sleep. For though it may not unpossibly, conjure up a present furious Resolution, it was never yet famed for a friend to the Habit of Valour.

2. It is a sworn Enemy to Discipline; rendring the most obedient Souldiers, During that Distemper, deaf to all necessary words of Command.

3. Wine dries the Brain by Nature, and besides, by accident, informs the Understanding, though the Commerce and Familiarity it breeds with Men of different Judgments: And so might have easily called up acuter Spirits, and caused a stricter scrutiny into the Miracles, Life, and Procedure of their Legislator, than an infantine Power was able to correspond for: There being no humour so bad, but this strong liquor is able to make worse and inflame, by representing miscarriages in Commanders, and affronts from their Fellows, which in a calmer temper could never have floated in so weak Imaginations: And thus led on by Chimera's, they, like *Sampson*, snatch up the most improbable weapons, which they do, not seldom, imploy in almost as miraculous Successes.

4. The Transparency of Drunkenness, able to conceal nothing to its own Shame; and Flexibility to all things rather than Reason.

5. Being yet in an itinerant condition, and so not likely to find Wine always at hand; it could not have lain in the power of any earthly thing, but a premeditated and religious Injunction, to have kept such an untutored Rabble within the compass of moderation, when ever they had met with it; Not seldom the Fate of Armies, who upon such disadvantages, have been all cut off by far inferiour Powers, being themselves first overcome by Drink.

6. To end this Digression, in which more might be said; Wine could be no fit ingredient to mingle with the heat of the Country they marched in, and the labour they must needs encounter in the rough way, leading to so high Designs.

20. Not to presume to vie Instances with the people of the *Jews*, who besides the prudence of *Moses*, had the unerring Spirit of God to direct them in all emergent occasions (which, by the way, renders their frequent Grumbings no less prodigious than blasphemous) I find few Nations more constant to their Founders Aphorisms, or that give less way to a refining, by the agitation of experience drawn from a confluence of differing events, than the *Turk*; for which he stands obliged to his own firm Constancy in Religion, and his Neighbours often variations, which have opened the gap to his most signal Conquests: It being Impossible to shake this Tree of Paradise, but to the prejudice of the Prince in possession, and benefit of such subtil Serpents as desire to supplant him; therefore not to be done out of any wantoner instigation, than an absolute Necessity. For though the Change of an opinion that is ancient, may stop a Leak for the present, it breeds such a Worm, as doth cause a perpetual Colick in the State: Apparent in *France*, where the Queen Mother fomented the Protestants, to maintain her Regency, and could never after be free from the danger of Civil War. This makes me wonder to find Toleration of Religion so common an Article in the Transactions of Princes; since it no ways suits with the complexion of

of Prudence to palliate a present defect by such a Recipe as may breed for the future an incurable Disease.

21. Yet because many Customs, passing current in the Minority of Power, would prove childish and defective in a more Settled Condition, and after Posterity is swelled to so considerable a bulk, as that the most numerous part may be allowed to exchange Battle-axes and Swords into Shares and Pick-axes; it could not be avoided by humane Providence, but something should be wanting in relation to so vast an Empire, no less terrible to the Ear than admirable to their Eyes, have seen it; a Fortune perhaps as far above the hopes of their first Founder, as it transcends the ordinary extent of the like endeavours. Therefore he deserves, in my opinion, more commendation, for foreseeing so much, than blame in omitting Provisions against such accidents, as none but a Prophet indeed could be ever able to pre-  
 sage; Many Carriages being necessary to the Sword, are superfluous, if not destructive when the Scepter is obtained; The first intending the death of Enemies, but the latter the preservation of Subjects and Friends.

22. Whereupon his Successors finding that though the *Keys of the Church can hang no where so quietly, as at the Girdle of the Prince*, (of which *Moses* is an unerring Example) yet to give a greater lustre to the beams of Religion (esteemed by all, if not quite corrupted, yet far less pure in Secular Vessels, than those set wholly apart for the Worship of God;) and to have withal a favourable Umpire of a seeming more different and sanctified alloy, ready to compose any Discontents, that might be fomented between the Civil Power and the Subject, either through others ambition, or their own oppression, not unlikely to result from so absolute a Jurisdiction. A Religious man called the Musty, is set up, whose Habit is Green, a colour none but the Kindred of *Mahomet* are suffered to wear, of which number he is always supposed to be one. Now the better to enable him to strike an awful Reverence into the People, in case a mislaid Zeal should melt them into  
 Divisions,



Divisions, or a colder License freeze them into a chill Atheism, the Emperour honours the Musty in publick, with the highest Reverence and most solemn Attention, Denying him nothing he dare ask; no Malefactor being suffered to die, hath the fortune to see him, or be seen by him as he passeth; The Prince placing him, upon all weighty occasions, next the Throne, where, by his publick Gestures, he acts a lively and terrible dread of those Crackers, that contain no other Sparks of a Celestial fire than what resides in true Reason of State: Which is the Art of Governing to the best advantage for Prince and People.

And though this Circumcised Pope yields an infallible obedience to all the Emperour inspires him with, yet being rarely seen, the Generality reverence him, as if they apprehended something about him more than humane. And let our new Politicians practise what they please, Experience hath made it sufficiently manifest, that *A too prostituted Familiarity breeds contempt*, not only in things Civil, but Divine. Now such as think the prudence absolutely necessary to the Conduct of humane affairs, useless in those relating to Heaven, may be out; For since Miracles, and the audible voice of God is silent, nothing is so likely as a Sanctified Policy to retain a competent Reverence for Religion, or maintain so much Probity, as is requisite in a general Commerce, to keep us from murdering one another, upon the instigation of Covetousness and Revenge. Therefore the way of Prince and Priest to be thought more than men, is to do nothing unworthily, say nothing improperly, nor wear any thing undecently.

23. The *Turk* in this is happy, that the Musty his Pope no less than *Meca* his *Rome*, are within reach of his power; so as he is not to seek for the Oracles of Religion out of his own Territories, denied by custom to the most considerable part of *Europe*, whose Princes are regulated by the Pope's Inspirations, not only in things concerning God, but what else may be fetched in by his Pastoral Crook (*in Ordine ad Spiritu-*  
*alia*.)

dia.) And lest this absurd proceeding should be exposed to a general Reformation, the Bishop of *Rome* tolerates all Incestuous Matches, and other base and unjust actions, Princes desire to have indulged, for fear, like *Henry* the eighth, they should do it of themselves. The consideration of which makes them bear the heavy weight of so many Ecclesiasticks, who scarce acknowledge any obedience but to the See of *Rome*.

24. Though the Turkish Court no less than the Common People, do afford the Gaudy plumage of Honour to the Musty, the highest Bird in this Earthly Paradise; yet if he but offers to tune his note contrary to the true Dialect of State, he is straight unperched: It having been long observable in this Empire, that neither Friends, Money, Sanctity, Love of People, former Deserts, or any present need of the person's accurate Parts, were ever found Antidotes sufficient to expel the poison of the Emperor's Jealousie, who esteems no number of Lives (though never so innocent) equivalent with his safety, or the Nations. Yet if this Holy Man comes to his death by an unnatural Obstruction, the honour of this place is so far from receiving diminution by it, that his Body goes to the Grave with the least aspersion to his Fame; his Life being rather commended, so as his Successor mounts into his Chair untainted by any Prejudice; which Christians contract to their Popes or Patriarchs, by the errors they discover after their Deaths; The Cause, such as succeed are not in so great esteem as their Offices require; thought capable to be tainted with the same faults; their Predecessors were owners of: Not here imagined, because the Musty how ill soever he deserved of Church or State, is Registered among their Saints. In which appears the highest point of Policy, it being unlikely, any should question the truth of his Judgment when he is in being, whose Actions they dare not arraign after he is dead. And for his Removal, it passeth without the least notice given to, or taken by the Generality; who are otherways employed, either in caressing their plurality

plurality of Wives, or dispatching the business necessary to their professions: Abominating us Christians for walking to no more profitable an end, than to talk of News, &c.

25. This discourse of the Mufti's dispatch may afford some room by the way, to inquire into the justice of Clandestine Deaths; a Custom with the *Mahumetans* but such an one, as I hope never to see concocted into a more general practice among us; yet observing how our Chronicles lie overflowed with such vast Oceans of Blood, spilt upon no more urgent and publick necessity, than what relates to the ends and ambition of a single person, I will venture to say of it, and that only for the Meridian of *Turkey*, that a *Physician or a Felton may be cheaper employed than an Army*, and with less prejudice to the good of the Generality, Voted by all Right and Reason, the Supream Law, and for whose Salvation Innocency himself was willing to die. For where the sole power of Life and Limb resides, as it doth here, in the breast of the Prince under the warrant of an uninterrupted Custom (the malice making the Murder, and not the blow) I cannot think it so heinous a Crime, that in case a Subject hath justly forfeited his Life to the safety, or but the conveniency of the People, it should be taken the most advantageous way to make the better compensation for the damage it had or might have brought to the Publick. A private execution being esteemed here no more Murder, where the Cause is just, than one made publick is able to expiate the blood of an Innocent.

I know, so many Inconveniences lie in the way of this Custom, as it appears too unwieldy to be managed without danger by a single person, whose Judgment cannot be so clearly separated from passion, as merely to intend his Countries preservation, without the mixture of some gall of revenge; A candor not impossible to be found in the State of Venice, by nothing so long preserved in being, as a Custom they have sometimes to make away their greatest Senators upon no stronger

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evidence, than what meer Suspicion brings in against them; preferring rather the cutting off a Limb, in which appears the first Symptoms of Putrefaction, than to hazard the whole Body by an incurable Gangreen. But whether the damage of this practice, exceeds the profit, or the benefit the danger of the consequence, cannot be easily resolved; since Princes and Statesmen carry often such pernicious humours, as they convert that into a daily practice; which, like *David's* eating the Shew-bread, is only permitted in case of Necessity.

26. Queen *Elizabeth*, in other things the best consulted Monarch that ever filled the English Throne, forfeited more good opinion and honour, in using the Hangman in the death of her sister *Mary of Scotland*, than if she had imployed all the Mountebanks in *Europe*: For though Princes stand as near the Grave as other Mortals, in relation to Diseases, no less than Desert; Yet the hand of Justice cannot decently appear in their Executions, without debauching the Majesty of her own Power; Princes being Esteemed the Mouth of the Law. Now since the Council of *England* were too pious or hypocritical, to use the Fig in the sense of *Italy*, *Spain*, and other Nations, celebrated for more Wisdom; they might under an higher repute of Sanctity have spared the Leaves, and not laid the fault on poor *Davidson*, that did nothing but by Commission; an Apron that discovered more shame than it could possibly hide. All looking upon it, not only as the Desire, but the Act of the Queen and her Council, who by this publick Procedure dilated the Reproach over the whole Nation. Now I appeal to all not indulgent to a Form of Justice, though never so ridiculous, who obligeth his Prisoner most, he that takes away the irksome Ceremonies, Dishonour and Expectation of Death, or he that accumulates them all on a Block? As if that which is Murther in a Chamber, were not only far greater, but more terrible on a Scaffold, where nothing but Death and her attendants appear.

27. But

27. But to return to *Turkey*. It lyes not out of the way of possibility, but that the Grand Seignior, in regard of his abundance of Wives, may have two, or more Children at one and the same time: Therefore to break the neck of all Disputes apt to result from contrary Claims; the *Emperor in fact strangles all the rest*; a confest Tyrannical Tragedy, not to be heard without detestation; yet we fear too often acted among Christians, else the Line of the Catholick King, no less than that of *France*, and those smaller ones in *Italy*, might long since have Choaked their Felicity in a Crowd of Rebellions: Neither need I end here, were it my design to exceed the Counterpane by home-born examples. Yet such a Querie may be seasonably made, If the good of All (as I said before) be the Supream Law, and grounded upon that of Nature, whose chief business is to intend the preservation of the whole, without any nicer relation to particulars, than to place or remove them according as they suit or bring profit to the general occasions, a duty all are born to; why should such be blamed as take the most probable ways to promote Peace, and Postern-Gates of the Court, by which more dangerous Wars enter, than do ordinarily proceed from the invasions of Strangers? And here by the way, we may note, That *Re-publicks have not such impulsive causes to shed innocent blood, as Kings*: especially after that Sluce is stopt, which the most for their preservation are forced to let run at first, till the State is reduced to an wholsom Parity, and the ambitious itch of all Pretenders cured.

28. Nothing is penal by the Laws of this Nation, but what is always, or at least for the present, destructive to the well-being of the Prince or People: By which the more active Youth (the strongest ingredient to compose an Army of) remain so fully satisfied with an uninterrupted Licence to attain the farthest extent of their desires, as they apprehend no felicity beyond the Liberty they enjoy: And in such as Time and Weariness hath exchanged the humour of Lust, for one

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more Thriving, the Priviledge they have to exact on Strangers, hinders their apprehensions from finding that loathsome taste, Foreigners imagine to result from so absolute a Jurisdiction, as is, and hath been for many Ages exercised by their Emperours over them. And thus the State is a double gainer, this Indulgence affording opportunity for all to lay out themselves to the advantage of their Country, either in getting Wealth, or Souldiers to defend it.

29. Contrary to the practice of Christians, that plant the Canons of their Law, and arm the Messengers of Death and Damnation against the Gnats of juvenile lapses, but permit the weightier sins of Oppression, Schism, and Ambition, which never leave boiling in flie heads, till they discover an opportunity, by which they may overflow the ancient Government, in turning the peoples eyes towards the Faults of their Prince, and stopping them with prejudice against his Vertues: which may be done under the Seal of so secure a Caution, as the Actors are often upon the Stage, before those intended to be the subject of the Tragedy are able to take notice of it, especially in Nations glatted with Peace and Plenty, or such as long to cast off an usurped Power; whereas it is possible, if Nature were not so hard curbed, and deprived of ~~ven~~ (by which she is not seldom carried through an impetuous Lust, out of the true rode of Generation) such Minds might be taken up with less destructive diversions; This desire being as hard to be appeased, as that of hunger or thirst: Neither can the defects daily observed to increase in our Issue, be justly imputed to any thing else, than the meager desires, so strict a confinement breeds in us, by which the spirits are so curdled and quelled, as they rarely produce any thing admirable for strength or stature, the highest perfections of Nature, and no less useful in Peace than War; so as the Names and Estates of the most illustrious Families this Age affords, depend on Children our Forefathers would hardly have Christened; being fit for nothing



thing but Learning; a Trade had never been so overbid, but to find imployment for these Changlings; who Fairy-like throw about Fire-brands in State and Church, upon the least apprehension of any want or superfluity in Ceremony or Decency. To conclude, Such as too rigidly expect by their forked Laws, any natural desires, forget they will return, or break out into a worse mischief; no less than the more prudent Advice of *Solomon*, not to wring the nose of the People to avoid Excrements, lest Blood should follow: For if Law did not out-wrangle Nature, she might possibly be heard to plead, that our ordinary Marriages do rather tire than satisfy her Desires. And though it may not be owned as a decent Poesy for the Ring-leaders to Sedition, yet the setting too high a mulct upon the People's Peccadillo's, and dissents in Judgment, no way in their power to prevent, though possibly to dissemble, is the cause of a loathing of the present Government, and a certain presage of ruin to all in Authority, if not the whole State, to be brought about under the pretence of zeal to Religion, and care of the Peoples Liberty; though the first is no more visible in the Church, than the latter is in the civil Administration of Affairs; far exceeding the Cheat of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, who gave a considerable part of what was their own, whilst these swallow all the primitive Charity had laid out in pious uses, belying so far the holy Spirit, as to pretend the worst they can say or do, is dictated by it. And I wish *Mahomet* were only guilty in this, who made not his Religion alone, but his loathsome Disease a Baud to his Ambition and Rapine.

30. Punishments in *Turkey* are more sharp than common, which doth rather stupefy than waken the humour to Rebellion; and are executed on open Malefactors not the Darlings of the People, removing the latter upon occasion by a clancular Procedure; As in case a Mad-man (one of the Prophets of their Rabble for such they esteem so) should inveigh against Authority, they are far wiser than to stigmatize or whip them  
through

through the City (as we used to do) before the People, who take themselves not only concerned, but wounded in the general Liberty, through their sufferings; it being their nature to take hold of, and believe any evil report of such Governours (at least) as are employed in Taxes, or any other ungrateful Service, though most necessary for the use of the State: Therefore in such cases, if they cannot tempt him over to their side, by Gold, they stop his mouth with something less cordial; and if his Body be found, no diligence is omitted in the enquiring after some Ruffin, on whom the People may be likely to father the Murther, or the Corps not appearing, they pretend him wrapt up into Heaven by the mediation of their great Prophet, at whose feet he sits pleading their cause, and Guarding them from some plague, they say, impends over them for their Disobedience to the Emperour, the Vice-gerent of God upon Earth. Nor doth this oftentimes serve, but a solemn Fast is appointed, where the State-men do in shew, and the Ignorant in pure Zeal, afflict themselves; during which time, the News of some Victory, or happy Accident, is brought and owned as the return of their Prayers, no less than a heavenly approbation given to the Actions of those in power: Thus after the multitude have been sufficiently chastised for the Courtiers Faults, they become humble and quiet, submitting their backs to any burden, out of a fear of worse, and an opinion they have that is consonant to the will of God.

Yet in my Judgment, no wise Prince ought to tire out this Remedy by a too often Application, lest it should not only lose its Vertue, but breed a worse Disease; an over-heated Zeal consuming not seldom the wrong end to that for which it was at first kindled, being apt to be driven by the contrary Winds of Ambition and Covetousness upon the Church, where the Buckets use to hang, likelier to quench the Flames of any other Sedition, than what results from this Wild Fire; which for the most part melts the Lead, and

consumes the Foundation of the House of God, under pretence of his Service; a course that is so far from edification, that it makes all, not acquainted with the true knack of Ambition, hate to be reformed: whose second remove is to the Court, where finding all things in a rotten condition, or at best obnoxious to be construed to a sense contrary to the prepossessed minds of the major part; the whole Fabrick is consumed, to the very Person of the Prince, out of whose ashes another ariseth that proves a Bird of the same Feather, if not a worse: The Subjects returning home laden, for the generality, with no more benefit than the Beggars, that in a drunken fit expose themselves to the danger of the Law, Wounds, Beating, and Death, only to burn the old Whipping Post; though daily experience informs them, they can neither be quiet or safe without it, which is the cause that in all places they set up a new one, when the fury of the distemper is over. *Thus are Subjects no less vain, that do rebel, than Governours mad, that provoke them to it.*

31. The Subjects in *Turkey* have nothing hereditary: All Honours, and places of profit, being peculiar to Desert, and determine with Life, without the least partiality shewed to Greatness of Birth, unless that it produceth more jealousy than favour, to have descended from a Father formerly in power. This hangs no less weight of Restraint on the Ambition of all in actual Administration of publick Affairs, than it adds Industry to such as have not yet attained to that height. By which a foul error in *Europe* is obviated, where men ascend to the highest places by the mediation of Friends and Money, rather than any advantage their worth brings to the Common-wealth: It being most ordinary for Fools to be admitted into the Temples of Honour and Riches, whilst the choicest endowments of Art and Nature are suffered to pray, if not beg, without.

32. The Emperour's being here Administrator to all dead mens Estates, forceth their Children to be solicitous

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tous after Trades; as having none to rely on for a future maintenance, but themselves. And to add reputation to this laudable Custom the Grand Seignior professeth some Art himself, in which he disdains not to consume his spare time. From whence accrues this benefit to the State, That Disbanded Souldiers (the Pest of Christian Nations) are one day in Arms, the next at work in their Shops. Neither have they such confluence of Idle men, Lawyers, and Scholars, which among us make up a third of the People, and are, for the most part Contrivers and Fomenters of all the distractions found in Church and State: From whence results the severest of the Curses, God left to the choice of *David*; For the Plague and Famine terminate chiefly in Children and the weakest of Men; whereas the Sword (like some Monsters recorded) makes the fairest Women and choicest Men, the object of its lust and fury, and therefore brings an incomparable infelicity wherever it reigns.

33. This Custom of Trade and independency on future hope religiously observed, doth cut the cords of such Vanities as draw Christians into Luxury, by a profuse expense in Furniture, and no less excess in Building, to a treble proportion of what the Owner needs, in relation to his particular Family; the burial of Timber and other rich Materials, much to the prejudice of Shipping, besides the Rent-charge it puts upon the possessors Revenue to maintain it in Repair.

34. Neither is this People apt to follow the European vanities of Horse-races, Hunting, Hawking, and amorous Entertainments: Their plurality of Women quenching with more security in regard of Health, and less Charge, the thirst of Change ordinarily attending the tedious cohabitation with one.

35. The *Turks* are very magnificent in publick Buildings, especially, such as relate to the service of God; none of the weakest effects of their Teachers sufficiency; who by working upon tender Consciences, are

able (like ours) to make them so unnatural Fools, as to skip their nearest Relations, and to design what they got, they know not how, in providing Conveniences for they know not whom: By which means such Baths and Moscos are erected, as do encrease the ease of Travellers, no less than the Zeal of those that make the purchase of Heaven the Object of their Endeavours, whilst Christians raise the Names of Benefactors out of the fore-heads of sumptuous piles, suffering the ill-mingled ingredients of Covetousness, and a burning desire of Change in Religion, to consume brave Monuments of Charity, by alienating the Lands, and melting the Lead of the Houses, which a more ancient and fervent Zeal (though now indited of Superstition) had solder'd on: Therefore if I were worthy to give Advice to our publick Spirits, they should hereafter assign their Legacies and Contribution towards the mending of Common Ways, and erecting useful Bridges; more likely to carry their Names to Eternity, than Churches or other pious Foundations, apter to have their conveniency questioned by Covetous and ungrateful Posterity; since earthly Paths are more trodden and better indulged, than those leading to Heaven: Nothing being likely to continue long, that is able to bear the Charge of its own Ruin. Therefore those that accumulated these rich Donations, on the Church and Seminaries of Learning, instead of perpetuating their own Fame, laid a Foundation for the Ruin of that, they only intended to preserve: It being impossible that any humane institution should continue without so much shew of Corruption (especially, if rich and splendid) as may give a pretence for the rapine of those, who being inapprehensive of the sense of Honour and Religion, are instigated by Avarice, or a present necessity. This makes me, though with trembling, presage, that the ruin of Christianity in *Europe* is not very far off; because the greatest Revenues of the Catholick Church are looked upon with more envy than Religion; which once proclaimed

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corrupted, or unnecessary, she lies open to the plunder of all. Upon which consideration, the Pope hath not done imprudently to gather a Church in *America*, whither he may one day be forced to retire, whose Zeal is likelier to be hotter than the Europeans, that have had theirs cooled with the Winds of so many contrary Doctrines. Thus doth Religion run from one Meridian to another, thriving best at first; for after a long abode, she so far sharpens and refines the Spirits of men, as they are able to discover such Abuses and Errours, as may afford them a pretence to cut her own throat for what she possesses: when, God knows it is not the Doctrine that is changed, but their Apprehensions; for if the heat of Zeal be misemployed, which is able to concoct any opinions into the nourishment of Religion, all things after will prove flat and nauseous. This might tempt *Mahomet* to stuff his Alcoran with such high and mystical Expressions, to busie and amuse such as can taste no Doctrine but what may bite the Conscience and perplex the Understanding.

36. **T**Hough it be natural for Founders of Nations to enlarge their Confines to the farthest extent, Prudence or Power is able to stretch them; I find the Institutes of none suit better with such a design, than those *Mahomet* and his more immediate Successors have followed: Yet to spare my own memory, no less than theirs (if any be) that will venture such a Jewel as Time, in the surveying and purchase of so wild a field of Observations; I shall fix upon Three things they chiefly labour to promote: Out of which it will not only be easy to extract their First Principles, but deduce the subsequent Materials imployed in the edification of this vast Body, whose stride though it extends not so far as *Spain*, yet it is more compact, and in that better able to remove without danger of falling, any blocks that neighbour Princes may, out of jealousy cast in the way of its felicity, not to be paralleld



in any part of the World, with which Profit or Curiosity hath made us familiar.

37. The first lies in Obedience; which, being divided between Religion and Empire, asketh the more prudence to prevent danger; lest such as pretend to be the sole Heirs of God, do not cozen the Prince of his Birthright, under a popular discovery of a too rough hand in Government, or error in divine Worship, in which the poor claim no less ample a share than the rich; all being noted to fight with the greater animosity for the world to come, the less they find themselves possessed of in this: it appearing to them unsuitable with the Goodness and Justice of a Supreme power, that the Creature should not somewhere meet with Felicity. And to prevent all sinister misprisions incident to the Religion of the Prince (the gap with which the Babes of Rebellion and Novelty are pampered) though the Ecclesiastical and Civil Powers be both radically in the Grand Seigneur, yet the pontifical Musty hath studied the Art to make the people believe, these two Streams do flow, one from a less, and the other from a more Sanctified fountain: By which is gained this huge advantage, that the Emperor hath all he dislikes, condemned as it were out of the mouth of God, no less than what he likes, approved; It being upon no slighter penalty than death, to refuse to acquiesce in any Sense, this Holy man puts upon the Alcoran: nor can the Interpretation, State-reason requires this day, perplex one quite contrary, the next, if it may be more useful; because nothing is registred but what respects men; things relating to God being left free to the disposal of the Prince, who by the lips of the Musty directs the knowledge of the people; himself like a Weather-cock pointing only that way which the breath of Policy blows, the Inferior sort of Priests in the mean while screaming like Lapwings in the ears of the Rabble, lest they should observe the proceedings of the Court, which is the Nest wherein all their Grievances (as they call them) are hatched.

38. Now

38. Now, concerning Obedience in things meerly civil, though the hand of Priesthood be not opt in all emergent cases, yet the Subject having no Vote in the proposal or consent to Laws, all being solely at the will of the Prince, they have nothing but Patience to fly to, in the highest exactions he is pleased to impose; no Instrument appearing of any mutual Compact betwixt Him and the People, so as Life and Estate are meerly arbitrary; better endured, because the Crown being Heir to all men, none can be made poorer than they were born; it being the nature of all, to esteem highest of their Birth-right, a Term here not understood.

39. The second thing promoted, is an impartial Parity throughout all his Dominions, in relation to every thing but Desert, none appearing higher or lower than the rest, but according to the Place he fills in the State; all Offices remaining wholly in the disposal of the Emperour: This removes the Subjects eyes from the Grandees, who might else be tempted to Faction, and fixed them upon the Throne as their natural Object, and most auspicious to their Fortunes. Thus are the Rich humbled into Thralldom out of Fear, and the rest out of Hope; two Reins, which whosoever hath the art to handle, may guide the world whither he please: This keeps the *Turks* caste from Rebellion, either out of scorn to follow one of no more noble extraction than themselves, or through the baseness bred in them by receiving Injuries, not only from the legal Magistrate, but the Souldier, whose Authority lies in his Sword, which the common people have as little warrant to wear, as skill to use; yet like the Head-Prentice they execute the same Tyranny upon Strangers, their Masters are pleased to exercise over them; where terrour is augmented, because punishments are not confin'd either by Law or Custom, tho' they oftner exceed than fall short of the merit of the cause. And here it cannot be observed without a serious reflection upon the force Imagination borrows from

the religious reverence they bear to their Prince; that such as will condemn all dangers in this defence, are rarely found (till of late) in Arms against him, though provoked by the most heavy oppressions. Thus we see how far they may err, that make success the Touch-stone of the truth of a Profession, or the Peace it brings to a Nation, or the owners Conscience; and experience can produce millions of examples, that men only steeled with erroneous opinions have been no less daring upon Fire and Sword, than those marching under the Target of Truth.

40. The third thing is Fortitude; endowed so richly by no Nation as the *Turks*, whose Emperour placeth all Offices in the Van of brave Actions; whilst his Priests and Prophets are no less diligent in mustering up the joys of Heaven in the Rear: And for Cowards they have not only Poverty and Reproach attending them in this World, but Hell and Damnation in the next. Thus by baiting all the ends of his Militia, he doth not only catch the covetous and ambitious, but those attached with the invincible humours of superstition and melancholy; by which, like Oxen, they are rendred not only fit, but willing to endure both labour and slaughter. Thus Fantasie but a weak shell in it self, yet if filled with Sulphurous zeal, and the opinion of truth, and future happiness, confounds not only all that dare appear in opposition of it, but the very design (if capable of so much prudence and moderation as to project one) that she intended to promote. Therefore such as consider, how far the *Turks* Conquests are indulged by their Religion, have more cause to wonder, they are not Masters of the whole World, than that they enjoy such a proportion thereof, as they do; where the Sisters and Daughters, of the Emperour's own blood, are often given in marriage to reward that which was bravely ventur'd by the meanest Souldier; whose Issue by Custom can challenge no higher place in their Uncles or Grandfathers favour, than they are able to purchase by their own Desert, he

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he owning none for Kindred, beyond such as are allied to Vertue, Wisdom, or some other quality that may render them useful to the State: Unlike the practice of *Germany*, where ten or more bear the Title of one Principality, having nothing to feed on but the air of Honour, looking like solitary and demolished Castles quite destitute of Strength or Territory, the name of the place being only left to uphold them.

41. In the pursuit of their Fortitude, I shall say something more of their proceedings in War: and first of Eunuchs, by many thought less propense to valour, and therefore possibly to be noted in the *Turks* as a blemish, by such as do not wearily observe, that Caution, and Circumspection are no less, if not more, necessary in the General, and oftentimes harder to be met with, than Daring and undaunted Resolution in the Soldier; it being one thing to execute, another to direct, Therefore the Grand Seignior doth not seldom make Eunuchs Commanders in Chief, never Common Soldiers; the Fear, which is necessary in the first, being destructive in the latter; more Armies having perished for want of Moderation, than Valour, in the Head: Besides, their incapacity of Children gives such caution for their Fidelity, as cannot be expected from one more virile; a perfect man being in a condition to gain honour and profit by the Change of Government, whereas one so mutilated is capable of little more than shame and loss. And because it is unlikely to cut the throat of this Empire with any Sword but her own, such are employed with most discretion in these high places, as are least apt to rebel.

42. The *Janizaries*, on whom they fix the belief of Victory, are by a primitive Institution prohibited Marriage; yet lest this should make a gap in their felicity, the Wives, and Daughters of the less useful, especially those their Sword hath subdued, are without question subject to their desires. This wings their obedience in the performance of Commands, though pointing at never so remote Employments. For quite

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unshaked from the magnetical force of an affection to Wife and Children, by use made natural (which chains Christians, like fond Apes, to their own doors) every place is fancied their proper sphere; because it cannot afford courser Meat, harder Lodging, or severer Discipline, than they have at home: Neither doth the want of Wives raise such cries as are made by the Relicts and Children of slain Souldiers; the appeasing of which swells in other Nations to little less than would pay a small Army: This Emperour being Heir as well to the Lives as Estates of his Subjects.

43. They seldom grant Quarter till all is subdued: By this they prevent fighting twice with the same Adversary. Neither are they forward to exchange Prisoners, lest in their abode with the Enemy, their affections should be warped towards any more moderate discipline, observable in those they oppose: And out of the like Jealousie they seldom continue War long with the same Nation; Change not only preventing all Contagion, that may arise from Commerce with worse ordered People, but affording the Souldier at least a seeming delight, in variety. And in farther relation to Quarter, a Prince rich in Subjects doth rather spoil than mend his Market by such kind of bartering, by rendring Enemies the bolder, as being readier to dispense with the danger of Imprisonment than Death: Neither are any miraculous effects of Despair much to be feared, where there is room enough left to evade: This humour being as single and rare, as the *Phoenix*, and not to be generated but out of the ashes of hope. And he that considers, that the *Turk* is not of so poor an alloy, as some Princes, which are undone by a Victory, if it costs too dear, may see his design in a great part satisfied by the Employment and loss of his Souldiers; the too great encrease of such Spirits being all he hath reason to fear. This makes War (an Art in other places) an absolute Nature and necessity here.

44. He is not yet so fond of Honour, as to lay out his endeavours in the purchase of places not able to pay for

for their own Chains; A charge the Catholick King is never like to abate so long as he is Master of *Naples*, *Milan*, &c. that cost more to keep, than the profit made of them can compense; the like may be yet said of *Ireland*, &c.

45. Their Ordnance, found the largest in the known World, are carried into the field in the Common Soldiers Pockets.

46. The general Food of the *Turks*, both in City and Camp, is Rice and Water; their most dainty addition being but a Hen, or some small lump of Flesh. This makes them pursue victory over desolate places, and starve such Armies as presume to follow them, who are as certainly overwhelmed with an Ocean of Necessities, as the *Egyptians* were by the Red Sea.

47. Their Expeditions are not ordinarily undertaken, but in Summer; By which many great dangers are prevented, less advised Princes do daily cope withal, in meeting with Contingences that arise from Want and bad Weather, harder to be vanquished than the Enemy himself. For though their numbers be great, yet the little Use hath taught them to be content withal, is easier met with at that Season, and renders them so impregnable against what we call Fortune, as she may possibly bend her Bow, but is not able to distress them by the strongest Arrows her Quiver affords. Besides the Eccho the Report of the Emperor's strength makes in the hollow hearts, those Princes, it concerns, carry one to the other, is not only Harbinger, but in a great part, Operator of his Victories; when Christians march but with part of their strength, leaving the rest to follow in the nature of a Reserve, (as if there were hope a paucity should prevail when the gross is beaten, who, if joining, might possibly have warranted Success) and do by this not only lessen the Repute of their Power (of no small consequence in the Art of War) but discourage any other from joyning with them, who upon the sound of an invincible Army, would prick up their Ears.

48. If



48. If a Shock be given to the Emperour's Forces, he stays not long enough in that place to receive another, but returns home without tempting his Fortune further that Summer; Wisely concluding it much unlikely (as in truth it is) for a disheartned Army to perform what she could not bring about when the Soldier was in full plight. Neither can the certain cause of an Overthrow be easily penetrated into; and till that be thoroughly surveyed, no Prince may in discretion hazard the change of a second Battle, though the Commanders appear never so confident of good success; it suiting with their Interest both in honour and safety, to venture all, rather than come out of the Field with so great a reproach; Considerations below a Superlative power, to whom Security ought to be more dear, than any thing that carries the countenance of greater loss than gain, It not being impossible but that the former disgrace might arise from some Treachery in the Principal Officers; Therefore it is good Policy to examine every Card in the Pack, before the dealing of a new Game, especially upon a flushed party: Yet with this caution, that many things must be put to the venture by the Founder of an Empire, which suit not with the Prudence of one already established; For Repute far more necessary than Safety to the first, is below it many degrees in the second: since he that holds but part of a Cudgel in his hand, may retreat in quiet, but he that hath quite lost it shall be bit by the same dogs that gave way to, or fawned upon him before his force was spent.

49. The Grand Seignior (after augmentation of the Empire) is in nothing more studious than of means to Employ the superfluous quantity of Soldiers, his vast estate produceth. By this making those instrumental to the propagation of honour and dominion, that in such narrow yet fruitful Cock-pits as *England*, breed nothing but Sedition; and for want of ease and plenty, strive like *Jacob* and his Brother for more room; it being possible for evil Government to convert the

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Blessing of Increase and Multiply into as heavy a curse, as ever yet fell from the mouth of God: therefore a too zealous prosecution of Peace (which some Princes, not unwise in their single Judgment called King-Craft) is no less vain, than destructive Art; and so unsuitable to the good and safety of any Government, that it hatcheth Plagues, or which is more contagious to a State, Civil War: Neither can this Pleurisie be easier cured, or the Spirits of Rebellion better evaporated, than by opening the peoples veins in some Foreign Employment.

50. The *Turkey* Cavalrie are seldom in evil plight, because their Horses are still under the owners eye, who for the most part do serve upon them, and have to that end, large Proportions of Land allowed them, with other Immunities not common to the people, to whom they are both a Curb and a Protection; And between these and the Foot such a feud is bred, either by Custom, Nature, or Art, that it is reported, the Horse will (if unprevented) burn their Litter, lest the Infantry should imploy it to their better accommodation: Now though this may look like a prejudice in the Field, it secures all fear of Combination at home. Neither is it a slight addition to security, that the greatest part of this Militia consists of such as were selected out of Children, paid for Tribute by conquered Nations, who composed of several airs, cannot associate with that ease as Armies made up of one Language; which like the *Swiss*, do not seldom call for *Ghelt* when they have the Enemy in view.

51. Their strength lies in the Field, and not in Fortresses, looked upon as nurseries of Rebellion, especially in so absolute a Tyranny, where it is more common for the Emperor to send for the Head of a Bashaw, than to be denied; A power that would be buried in stronger Holds, out of which few would come to such entertainment, as is given to the Grandees upon the least invitation of Jealousie. Not to beat more upon this Argument, long since driven up to the head by the

the best of Judgments, *That fortified places suit the affairs of weak Princes, better than those of greater strength, &c.* he that hath men in abundance needs them no more, than those of narrower confines, and less populous are able to subsist without them.

52. They make not Religion the Cause, or at least proclaim it not for the principal Motto of a War; which wakens the attentions and invokes the assistance of all the contrary Profession; the poorest man taking himself so far interested in the Vindication of his Faith, that if he hath nothing else to venture, he will account it sacrilege to deny his life: But no sound of that being heard, the voice of hope and fear drowns that of danger and concernment, in the prejudice and hatred they bear to their Neighbours; Fathering all misfortune that falls to them upon divine vengeance, in opposition of which they dare not engage; no more than most Princes are willing to part with their Gold till it is too late; like the wretched Inhabitants of *Constantinople*, who chose rather to lose all in an entire sum, than to break it for the preservation of themselves and their Country. And if any thing could have tempted Christians to the rescue of their own interest in the Custody of others, it would have been then, when this Imperial City was in such danger. But the Moderation of *Cæsar's* power was so grateful a Spectacle for the present, as it dazzled their Apprehensions in relation to any future inconveniences; yet when this Key of *Europe* was lost, those that before were quiet, if not contented Spectators, began to mistrust their own doors, and bewail their ignorance, in not foreseeing that the Effects of such a Neighbourhood was not so easily to be resisted, as the Siege (which was the cause) might have been raised, had there been a cordial conjunction amongst those tied in policy to have kept him farther off. Thus by presuming more on the strength of others, than there is cause for, most States at last come to be distressed themselves.

53. Their



53. Their Militia is observed to be more daring in their Christian Expeditions, than those undertaken against the *Persian*; a People looked upon as too near of kin to them in Religion, to warrant their Murdering: The same sin committed by Princes in gross, which private persons do by retail, yet are punished for it in this World, where the other are commended; though the People I describe are too wise and affectionate towards the more substantial part of their Creed, to prosecute those of their own profession to the farthest extent of their power, out of no more serious consideration, than whether their own, or the *Persian* Priests delude the People with the greatest shew of Truth, especially both owning one and the same supreme Juggler, *Mahomet*. In this exceeding the prudence, if not the piety of Christians, who make the Sword an Umpire in the smallest differences of Opinion; as if success, (found as great an assertor of the designs of these Infidels, as ever it hath yet appeared in the favour of Saints) could be able to bear so great a stress, as the weight of Religion, on which depends Salvation, not possibly to be brought about by the wicked Engines, daily employed by Princes and Men in power, to keep Victory fastned to their Tent-doors: It being Sufferings, not the Valour of our Champion Christ, that can enrol us in the Heavenly Host: For though we dare not give success to Fortune, any more than we are able to wrest her out of the hand of God; yet we find by experience, that the Wheels of her Chariot are too weak, dirty, and unsteady, for Truth to triumph in, much less to be made captive to any others Interpretation than her own.

54. And though the paint of Religion is the ordinary Charm that raiseth the impetuous spirits of the People into storms (by which they can sooner destroy others than save themselves; no reparations being to be procured but out of their own purses, who may far easier change their Masters, than find better) yet is Blood very unsuitable to the taste of true Religion, which

which participates more of the Lamb, than the Lion, having been ever readier to suffer wrong, than do it, till the Priests of old, as some think, first, for the Princes sake, and after for their own, had not only taught her the Art of Jugling, but made her so tetchy, by the corroding Doctrines they instill'd into mens consciences, upon the least Worldly occasion, that brought their Honour or Profit under question; far repugnant to the first intent of Religion, which was to set a bar against strife, and all other unnatural desires, men, without the awe of God, are apt to fall into; Oppression being a general mischief, all are liable to, either in childhood or old age: This brought Government into use among such as had felt the heavy experiment of Anarchy; to avoid which nothing contributes more than Unity in Religion, and where that cannot be compassed without much strife, a Liberty to profess what opinions men please, provided they be not repugnant to the general welfare..

55. Wherefore *Mahomet* and his successors, the better to gain the love of the people to Religion, tempered it with so much moderation, as it rather inclines to Hope than Fear; wisely foreseeing, that nothing makes Subjects recoil more from their Obedience, than when they are loaded with a conceit that their Governors lead them in the way to Hell. This gives me occasion to think, that the Goblins armed by the Catholicks with so much terrour, may possibly like the Elephants of *Pyrrhus* fall foul upon themselves, and bring their Religion into a low contempt, through an apparent detection, or a panick fear; not so likely to attach the Creed of the *Turks*, who have no painting to communicate any thing subject to gather so much dross, as might inform the people, they are but the effects of humane Art, nor Priests that dare be so bold as to put a greater Excise upon the Sins of the people, or the price of Heaven, than stands with the convenience or Reason of State. Thus are the Turkish Soldiers bred in no less obedience than Valour, which

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are indeed the most saving Articles of their Belief, and though undervalued by us, that expect after death a less carnal Heaven; yet nothing causeth their Unity more, or is a greater provocation to augmentation of Empire, than the conformity held by their Priests in the inculcation of their Doctrine, nor perplexing their Consciences with useless terrors or hard questions; making no Sins so damnable as Cowardice and Disobedience to the Commands of their Leaders; Eyeing Christians with a high disdain, for casting so many doubts, and bushing the way to Heaven with Purgatory and other Bugbears, which they place in the dark Entry, all are to pass between this World and the next: Though a blind man may see, it is not consonant either to the belief of Prince or Priest: And these Chimeras are thought by the *Mahometans*, to intimidate Souldiers by making them Atheists, and so in hope of no better; or superstitious, which keeps them still in expectation of a worse: This people being no less hardened with Discipline, against the pleasures of this, than assured by Doctrine, they shall enjoy the same and greater in the World to come: according to an ordinary saying among them: That if Christians carried the same opinions concerning Heaven in their Hearts, as are every where found in their Books, they would not be so afraid of Death, the only way thither.

56. The *Turks* esteem Fate inexorable; which steels their Foreheads no less against the sharpest danger, than it smooths them towards the severest Discipline; yet in the midst of this belief, admit a necessary use of Prayer: As if importunity could be any way prevalent where an unchangeable Resolution is acknowledged. It cannot be denied, there is a wide room left for giving thanks, and praising God for disposing things so much to our advantage; but this perhaps cannot so seasonably be done till his Will be revealed.

57. Images, revered in Christian Churches, bar the doors against both *Turk* and *Jew*; who count us worse than Canibals for eating our God, as they say

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we do in the Eucharist: a scandal we owe to the Court of Rome.

58. Notwithstanding the incomparable strength of this Lion, you may find all his Treaties lined with the fur of a Fox, not tying himself up so straight by Promise or Obligation, but that he hath still a nuse open to break through upon any great advantage: And in this he is not a little beholding to the manner of his Stile, always fuller of Hyperbolical Civilities than real Assurances; yet rather than leave his Repute under the reproach of a broken Faith, he lays the fault upon the mistake of some Minister of State, by whose blood he expungeth all stains of Dishonour, not leaving them legible by any of his own, but such as have learned to decypher the Character of Princes, who are but few in this well composed Government, and those comfortably employed in publick service, or decently laid by, for prevention of mischief: It remaining past peradventure, *That such as have Heads apt for Counsel, may upon a Discontent find Hearts as apt for Rebellion.*

59. Though this Monarch, if he stands right in his Subjects esteem, is not very solicitous after Repute from Strangers; yet by reason of his vast Power, he is not often necessitated to tread such base paths, as our weaker Princes are forced to walk in, that have for the most part nothing but Shifts to subsist by; which like Mines under the walls of Towns, bring more prejudice than gain, if they come to be discovered by the contrary party; from which it is not easie to conceal them, if once they are flown out of the bosom that hatched them, such folly and falshood is bound up in the hearts of Embassadors. Besides the frequent perjury of Princes hath so vilified the price of Oaths, that they serve for little more than Ceremony of State, and to bait traps for their poor Subjects, and other weak and ill advised Strangers. Which may give an occasion for an Enquiry, that since all men cannot agree Whether a Toleration of their several Religions may

not be with more Charity admitted, than every one persecuted, as we find they are in one place or other? And because one God is universally owned, all Protestations should be taken under that single name, without any other addition; many bearing an awful reverence to That, who look upon the rest as products of Policy, and therefore leave room for such mental reservations as the Priests, no less than the Grandees have too long abused the World withal. And till a reverence, still begun at the Head, be real, or unapprehensibly feigned, it is folly to expect performance of Oaths in the Members. This arraigns all Princes of madness, that rest secure upon the Fidelity of their Subjects, after they have forfeited their own by illegal and exorbitant Taxes. Nor is Perjury found so frequently amongst those esteemed Infidels, as our dry Professors, that have Religion still in their mouths, and the Bible in their Eye; Not that a practice of holy Duties can possibly be more the reason of Falshood in the one, than Profaneness of Truth in the other; But having made themselves more familiar with the Mercy, than Justice of God, and presuming upon the certainty of their own Salvation, and Damnation of others, for which they have no better warrant than the voice of a Spirit, conjured up only in their Imaginations; the more to be suspected, because it befriends no other interest but their own, they think to make God amends some other way; whereas a poor Sinner, that hath once been hunted home with the fierce conflicts of a wearied Conscience (sharper far than the Humiliations, these outward Professors proportion to themselves) dares not venture on so dear an Impiety, out of hope to digest it the next Fast. And if I am not much mistaken, the *Turks* bear a more awful reverence to Oaths, than Christians; nor are they found to alloy it with the poysonous mixture of *Æquivocation*, though the *Jews* that live among them are more indifferent what they attest. A sad thing that such as were formerly, and those that are now the people of

God, should exceed Infidels in so foul and unfociable an Impiety. Which that they may the better prevent; though the bare attestation of a Mussulman, or Turkish Believer is often taken for an authentick Proof against a Stranger; Yet in their ordinary Tryals between one another, they proceed with more Caution, so as not to rely upon Oaths themselves; but from private Examinations, and Questions, so unexpected and artificially put, as no premeditated Combination can evade, they extract grounds for Sentence: By which, malice is defeated, and perjury prevented, frequent amongst us, where the Lives and Estates of a conscientious people are without remedy exposed to their mercy, who scruple not the calling God to the witness of a Lie. Nor can there be imagined any better way how to avoid this mischief, or yield a sincere and faithful Obedience to the precept of our Saviour, *Swear not at all, &c.* (Which the corrupt Gloss of Expositors labour much, though all in vain, to elude) than, if, instead of that slight and irreverent manner of Swearing, or rather prostituting the Word of God to the kiss of impure lips, according to the loose custom of all our Courts of Judicature, the Judges themselves, or those appointed for that purpose, would take the pains, by the touch-stone of a diligent scrutiny, and scrupulous examination of Witnesses apart to distinguish the pure and golden Truth, from the baser Alchymy of the most cunningly forged Falshood.

60. They prefer Christianity so far, *as no Jew can turn Turk till he hath been Christened*: The vulgar thinking God best pleased with such a gradation, the Authority interjected this Ceremony to fence them against a too great concurrence of the subtle people, who in relation to Circumcision, are apter to embrace their Religion than ours; and do by their Conversion lessen the profit arising from them as *Jews*. Now lest the Impiety of casting blocks in the way of Profelytes should seem to relate only to this so much abominated Nation, I desire to be informed, if there be not a Law in force here,



here, at the *Jews* being in *England*, as there is still in some other Nations, *That such of them as turned Christians, should lose all, or the greatest part of what they had.* For which this pious reason was given, That many remained *Jews* still in their hearts, notwithstanding an outward profession: Thus a greater Hypocrisie cheated the less.

61. I find them, though constant to their own, yet so indulgent to the opinions of Strangers, as to afford such a safe pass among them: which, besides the profit it brings to Commerce, keeps them in so moderate a temper, as the plague of Hypocrisie (which like an Iron-mole, stains, and in short time eats out the purity of Religion, by acting a sublimer impiety than the nature of man, unsuborned through Ambition or Covetousness, is able to make real, longer than a Fanatick heat inspires it) hath not yet there broke out farther than among some few particulars; though by such the Cockatrice of Civil War is ordinarily disclosed in the Bosoms of Christians, concluding all damned which rest not in their Expositions and Customs, how ridiculous soever: Not considering the mischief they do, that remove old uncertain Errours, before they have found as certain Truth to put in their room. The same may be said of reputed inconveniences; such as is their conniving at Courtisans (chiefly done to prevent Adultery, Sodomy, and Bestiality; sins infesting these hot Countrys therefore) possibly less abominable, than some Divines make it. This sort of Cattle being as ancient as the Patriarch *Judah*: Neither did divers others, looked upon as men after Gods own heart, blush to keep droves of them: Nay, if some be not foully out in their Expositions, they are reckoned to *David* in the Bill of God's Blessings: And he that doth by this publick sin, as some have done by Religion, exchange it for a worse (though perhaps more solitary) I pray what hath the Nation left to brag of? Faults of greater privacy, though less natural, increasing Hypocrites more than Saints. And if our Blessed

Saviour should now speak to the Consciences of men, as he did to the *Jews*, *He that is without sin*, &c. I believe Fornication would escape, whatever became of Adultery. To conclude this point, it is so much the greater boldness, to add to, than diminish from the severity of God, as we stand more in need of his Mercy than Justice.

62. The gross of their Revenue is imployed in securing the Empire at home, or fetching Victory from abroad: The Grand Signior being only luxurious in Women, and domestick pleasures; which like Fontinels in the body, may possibly evaporate worse humours than they foment: Though contrary to the better inculcated, than practised Doctrine of our Theologues, especially those of the Church of *Rome*; Catholick Kings rather conniving at this mischief, than the perpetual inconveniences resulting from a married Clergy, who by giving their Children better breeding than Estates, are the cause they do not seldom fall into exorbitances.

63. **R**epute hath swell'd the Sultan's power to such a vast Monstrosity, and so far dazled the eyes of Christian Princes, weakned by divisions in Religion, that they dare not look upon him without a Present: Neither is the *Persian* much bolder, which gives him the advantage, no less than Honour to be still on the offensive: And in this the generosity he useth, to divulge the Prince, if not the place he meaneth next to attach, turns more to his advantage, than may appear to every eye; other Nations resting so secure upon this, as they do not provide, if at all, a defence proportionable to the danger; which if once made ready, could not be laid out to a more probable advantage for themselves and Christendom, than in stopping the Progress of this Polyphemus, who is likely, if not prevented by some Civil Rupture, to devour all the *Italian* principalities, if once he ravish the *Venetian*, whose hands have been weakned by the longest War,

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that ever any single State maintained against this Monster; who for want of assistance, cannot chuse but shortly yield up *Candy* to his Lust: And then our drowsie Princes, who were no more affected with her Cries, than weakned by the noise of her Cannon, and the voice of Prudence daily roaring in their ears, shall lament their Errour, and curse themselves, and the Council that moved them to observe this unnatural Neutrality, and to prefer a little pleasure they take in gratifying the envy they have ever born to this more magnificent Republick (tied by all reason to maintain the smaller States of *Italy* in being) before the assuring of their fears by a cordial combining against this common enemy, of whose mercy they can have no hope: Nothing being more suitable to his former procedure, or future security than utterly to eradicate them, long looked upon by him as the only Obstructors of his further progress into Christendom. Though apparently known, that what the *Venetians* do is rather by the strength of their Heads than Hands, having not yet made themselves very famous for Valour, participating not so much of the Lyon, as Fox, with whose Skin most of their Atchievements are found to be lined; being themselves, if fools in any thing, in the excessive awe they stand of Death, the cause they employ Strangers. Neither is it a less wonder, that *France*, *Spain*, and other potent Nations do daily pass by greater Affronts received from the Ottoman Empire, without the least notice taken, than they are observed to fight for among themselves; as if nothing could be dishonourable or unsafe, but what ariseth from the injuries of men of the same Religion; an argument of as great Imprudence, as Impiety, especially resulting from the Omission, if not Commission of the Court of *Rome*: For did the Jesuits and other active Priests turn the tide of their Policy (which hath already immersed *Europe* in blood) towards the *Turks*, they might soon be over-flown by a great deluge of Schisms, as we are now plunged in: But for fear of losing the Bird



in hand, makes the Pope unwilling to imploy his Engines for the taking of this: Not considering that the Mahometan Profession is grown up to as high an earthly Felicity, Universality, and Consent, as the Papacy; Neither do they want as great an Antiquity for some of their Tenets, the which if they once come to be washed over by the varnish of Learning, the Musty may, assisted by his Masters force turn his Holiness out of *Rome*, as that Bishop did the Emperours; and so avenge *Europe* and *Asia* both, for the rent the subtil Priests made between the East and the West Churches, for no more religious respect than to beautifie their own Habit and increase their Power.

And if the Virgin City of *Venice* comes to be wholly prostituted to the Lust of this Monster, who hath already intangled his Sword in one of her strongest Locks, it is possible the Catholick King shall not be able long to enjoy those Concubinary Principalities, made his by no juster Contract than the Procuration of his Chaplain, the Pope, his own Subtilty, and the impertinent Quarrels of less advised Neighbours: But to give the Pope his due (looked upon by the dazzled Eyes of our Zealots, for a more terrible Devil than it may be he is, were he confined within a narrower Circle, in relation to temporal Power) Christian Princes are apt to take so much advantage from the harping Irons *Luther*, *Calvin*, and other Divines (perhaps better skill'd in subverting Errors, than reconciling of Truth) have fastened in the sides of this Ecclesiastical Leviathan, not to be kept floating in a narrower Sea than that of *Rome* (formerly as Magisterial in things Temporal, as now she remains in Spirituals, which Prudence might manage to as universal a Tranquility, as appear'd in the Days of *Augustus*) that he hath no leasure to look abroad, for fear the same Spirit that troubled the Waters in *Germany*, should dry up those in *Italy*, &c. It being in the Power of every Prince to cut the Banks of the Church, which in *France* is the fear of Schism, and in the Catholick King's Dominion, the Inquisition. Yet in case his Holiness

linefs should make it a cordial endeavour to foment a League against the *Turk*, *France* and *Spain* would fall out who should head it, and endeavour to spoil the others Subjects in the mean time: Such incomparable Charity resides among Christian Princes, that value Religion no higher than the profit it brings; so as the Roman Bishop, with all his Emissaries, have full employment by adding and taking away, to keep the Scales even, between these two tottering Princes, and to heighten their Spirits against *England* and other Nations at enmity with *Rome*; lest we should have a Great Turk of our own; that is, an Universal Monarch, under whose absolute Power the Pope and all other Christian Princes could expect no higher Places than those of Vassals. And tho' a Combination were feasible, small advantage would accrue; since every considerable Confederates must have a General of their own; from whence would proceed more Cry than Wool, by perplexing Councils with contrary Commands: Because if it were probable, Kings should so far forget their Honour, as to lay down all Disputes about precedence, yet their particular Interest could not but remember them, that the strength designed against the *Turk*, might, after success, recoil upon themselves, not without a precedent in Story: And therefore not likely to employ any other in Chief, but their own Subjects. And what contrary affection, ends, and endeavours are covered under a Force patched up of so many Nations, is manifest in the Maritime battle of *Lepanto*: where, though the desire of all might be to Eclipse the Ottoman Moon; yet it was in many so faint, as they could not endure it should be removed quite out of its Sphere, or lose the Interest it doth Exercise within the Christian Pale (which by a through prosecution of that Naval Victory, might easily have been brought about) out of fear, the greater Princes, by that secured, should after have made it their endeavour to devour the less: And this (with some Umbrages of Jealousies the Catholick King had of his brother *Don John* of

of *Austria*) made the Confederates return without doing more than shew the Grand Signior wherein he was defective, and by this chastizing to make him mend the fault he had committed in being no better provided of Commanders and Provisions for Sea, which he hath since repaired at our cost, by maintaining an Arcenal in *Algiers* of which the King of *Spain* denied his Brother to be Governour; so jealous are Christians one of the other, that they have more confidence in Turks, than those of their own Religion: Yet, to speak God's truth, whosoever shall command an Army against this Epidemical Enemy, with such success as *Don John* had, will be owner of too popular an Honour, to be less than superlative wherever he comes; and therefore liable, like him to receive a Fig out of the venomous hand of Jealousie. Which warrants me to think, the fittest for such an employment as the heading an Army raised by a League, is the Pope, who lying within Gun-shot himself, is the most likely to take the truest aim at the finishing of the work: But this the Lutherans and Protestants would oppose, no less than the Princes of *Italy*, who cannot but fear, that the power of the Ottoman Family being sufficiently moderated, he could have no better employment for the Army, than to face them with it, looked upon perhaps in his esteem, as greater Enemies: Yet if there were an unity in Religion, and a total abatement of his Holiness pretences to any secular Power, farther than the sextent of *Peter's* Patrimony, it might with more probability be brought about, than any temporal Prince is able to give caution for: And thus Policy might not only make use of him, in opposing the *Turk*, but in reconciling such Kings, as when they are weary of their inconsiderate Quarrels, know no other way to bring about Peace, than by the mediation of the Bishop of *Rome*. But as things now stand, Experience hath taught us how vain a Composition of Force is, in the attempt of moderating the Ottoman Grandeur: Nor is any Prince yet in a capacity to undertake him alone;



alone; The Emperour being shackled by the links of contrary Opinions, and now utterly disabled since the *Suedes* Incurfion: I confefs the Catholick King, upon whose skirts he fits, were the most likely to get ground upon the *Turks* Dominions, did not the French perplex him with the fear of losing his own: Between which Nations there can be no reconciliation, fo long as the Popes greatness is supported by Divifion; An Universal Monarchy in *Europe* being more againft the grain of the Court of *Rome*, than it yet apprehends danger from that in *Asia*; fo as it is no improbable Paradox to maintain, *That the Turk by accident fupports his Holinefs*: And if the Pope and Inquifition were put down, Atheifm would break in like a Torrent; or, which is worfe, Religion would be divided into fuch destructive, bloody, and hypocritical fstreams, as her name would be quite loft in the dilatation, or render her Professors as odious as ever they were to the heathen Emperors: efpecially fince fhe hath in all places, and under every Profeflion, learned of Ambition to lay out the price of her Salvation in a field of Blood, without refpect had to Covenants, Oaths, Allegiance, or the moft natural and obliging Relations, therefore formidable to Kings, whose fingle and open bosome render them a fair mark, not only to the forked Tongues, but the venomous tempered fteel of an exasperated Zeal; fo not likely to be entertained in any place but where her own Sword fhall be able to bid her welcome: The Beauty of Holinefs, with which fhe was wont to allure Profelytes, being now shrivelled into ugliness, by her frequent application of the fublimated paint of Hypocrifie; fo generally obferved among Chriftians, as neither the *Turk*, or any other Mahometan Nation can, in Prudence, if in Piety barter their Faith for ours; The drought of whose Charity hath obftructed the means of Converfion in relation to all Foreigners not formerly engaged by Birth and Education: fo as no probability refides in any endeavour can be ufed to tempt the *Turks* from *Mahomet* unlefs  
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(as I hinted before) some Jesuit were able to personate his Ghost, and proclaim himself risen, according to their Prophet's long delay'd promise: for such an one might possibly prevail so far upon the Rabble, as to make them fall foul among themselves: A breach in Religion being found by experience the readiest way to let in that Ocean of Calamities, we see overflows the Kingdoms of the Earth.

Another Expedient may lie in supporting such Cedars of State, as are marked out for ruin by the fears or fury of the Prince, and if possible to give shelter to some of the younger Royal-Branches, who are sure upon their Fathers death to be sacrificed to the security of the Elder; and may, as occasion serves, facilitate a Rebellion, by landing an Army able to make good the field, whilst the Snow-ball is gathering: A project most convenient for the wisdom and Situation of *Venice*, were she owner of the Power and extent of Territory belonging to old *Rome*, whose Heir she deserves best to be, since she alone retains more of her Freedom than all the known World besides is able to produce: Her government being built on such rational, if not infallible Maxims, as might bear the weight of a far greater frame, if *Italy* were wise enough to see it; who need not be concubinary to so many wanton desires of Strangers, would all her small and new hatched Governments shelter themselves under her Wings, who are known to spend more severally in hiring of Peace from the *Turk*, *Spaniard*, *Pope*, &c. than wisely laid out in an intire sum, would purchase the power to command it.

From whence may be concluded, if the Grand Signior do not fall through his own weight, he may live to see *Europe* under as great a thralldom in every relation to body and soul, as *Turkey*, unless he be cordially opposed at his own door: Tyrants, like Dogs, having their fierceness rather whetted than rebated by a defensive opposition: whereas he that breaks resolutely in upon them, makes them not seldom take their heels;

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All changes in such an extremity being looked upon with delight and affection at home, by those that abroad would dye to extend the same Government over others: Oppression being so odious to Subjects, as all will upon any probable advantage promote its destruction to the very persons that share in their desires with the Monarch, wanting the power more than the will to perpetrate the like degree of injustice themselves.

64. The *Turk* deduceth this Doctrine out of the perfidiousness of the Christian Practice, That it is to little purpose (by reason of the contrary pretences) to make Leagues Offensive and Defensive, which he hath seldom done; yet considers his Neighbours dangers as his own, before delay hath rendred them incurable; Apparent in the large offers he made to *Venice*, whilst she lay under the Interdict of *Paul* the fifth; and might, if her Subjects had not been wiser, through Civil Divisions have lapsed into the hands of *Spain*, as divers Nations less prudent have done, by their own folly and a stupid patience of their neighbours, whose ordinary custom is to forbear giving assistance, till it is rendred unseasonable, and that they are not able to redeem them by all their endeavours, much less by a too late repentance; as in the case of *Navarre*, neglected by the Crown of *France*; and Dutchy of *Lorain*, by that of *Spain*; Any Augmentation to one of these Kingdoms being an equal Diminution from the other; the consideration of which keeps *Geneva* in being. And the averseness the *Turk* hath towards any strict Confederation with Foreigners, gives him not only the liberty to preserve his Friends, but to take any advantage to enlarge himself: His Subjects not having such vast Estates abroad, as might deter him from taking a revenge in case of injury, for fear of an Enlargement: whereas Christians have Ware-houses in *Constantinople* full of wealth, and to such a Value, as to give this Infidel caution for his using us at his pleasure without danger: Nor have we more than the Emperour's bare word to secure



secure our Trade, which it is likely you may tell me, he observes as religiously as other Princes.

Neither is he prodigal in Embassadors: for, keeping still the offensive end of the Staff, he is often sued to, but seldom sends a wooing for peace; which obtained, is found of no longer life than it suits with the occasions and Counsels of both parties: Therefore Confederations, Truces, and Leagues signifie nothing but danger to the weaker side, who by these are not seldom tempted to neglect the guard that cannot in prudence be lessened upon this score, it being an infallible certainty that, nothing moves another, but Profit, Honour, or Nature; The last of which doth less concern the Grand Seignior, because he seeks not to match his Daughters out of his own Territories, esteeming no blood Royal, but what runs in his own veins, and his that is to succeed him: Neither is he liquorish after the choice of the Issue of Kings for his own Bed, finding the same content in the embraces of a Subject or a Slave, that a more bewitched Imagination apprehends in those of a Princess: Nor doth his modesty abuse him, but acquits him from the danger of having a Spie in his Bosom, or a coequal in his Councils; giving him leave to put to death or exchange his Wives upon occasion, without the fear of any other frown but that of Heaven; amongst whose joys (according to his Creed) is Change of Women and all carnal Delights.

And by the division he makes of his Love among many Wives, he renders the Government less factious; the Distast having been found no friend to the Scepter, opening often a back door to Innovations; apparent in Christians, who Marrying the Daughters of more potent Princes than themselves, are so far overawed by them, as to make them Partners in their most secret designs, else they are able to distress them through the strength of their own Friends. Thus a Prince comes to have an Enemy in his Bosom, and such a one as he dares not question, for fear of a shower at home, and a storm from abroad. So as if all the  
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benefit Story can record to have (at least of late) accrued to Kings from the great Allies of the Wives were put together, you shall find it inconsiderable, computed with the loss, especially if their Religion differs; for then she looking upon him as out of the reach of God's mercy, can think nothing an injury to his person, or a loss to his estate, if her ghostly Fathers are pleased to encourage her; Considerations without bottom in this Conformity in Profession, and Parity in Subjection; where the birth of the first Son gives the title of *Sultana* to a Slave, the highest honour or employment a Woman can be born to: and what might abundantly content them also in *Europe*, where they are made the Arbitrators of the Royal Line.

65. The Emperour appears not in publick but on Horseback, where all Deformities, if he owns any, are best concealed; and is then in such Splendor, as the former engaged opinion of the multitude renders him more than Humane; whereas our less Majestick Princes become so cheap by their daily figging up and down the Streets after their pleasures unattended, whilst this graver Monarch enjoys them all under his own roof; where none are suffered to enter, but those that are dumb from their Births, or are rendred so through fear or use; no action or word breathed out of the *Seraglio*, to the Emperor's disadvantage, but proves mortal to the divulger: Not possible to be observed among Christians, whose Meals, like Puppet-plays, are made the object of all Eyes, and their lightest Discourses (apt then to break out) the scorn of Strangers, that blow them over the four corners of the Earth, with no small addition; whilst their own Subjects calculate a crooked Nature from the Deformities of their Bodies, evil Gestures, or a too luxurious taking in of their Wine or Meat: It not being easie to shew a man at a greater disadvantage, than whilst he is taking his Repast, the most certain Symbol of Mortality. This altogether casts no less cloud over their Majesty, than their Cheats and Perjuries, to procure money, are obser-

observed to do upon their Probity: which raiseth such a damp of Contempt about the Throne, as the Obedience they own, proceeds rather from a dread of their present Power, than any voluntary or natural affection their Subjects bear to them or their vertues; of which they have so low esteem, as they think them easie to be matched, if not by themselves, by a number their Commerce and Experience hath coped withal.

66. In Progress his Train is not inferiour to an Army; in which he receives all graciously that come to see him: And by this strength and affability the remotest parts are not only wooed to Obedience, but terrified from Insurrections; calculating by the Power attending him in his Pleasures, the terribleness of a Force that should be raised in his Fury: Notwithstanding at this time nothing appears about him but Love in his words, and Charity in his actions. For where he sees the Earth covered with Poor, he casts his Mony; which, like water put into a Pump, gives him the opportunity safely to drain the more affluent Rich. This makes the Generality look upon him as a God, that may give way to Punishment, never to Passion.

67. He owns not in his Royal Person any ingratelous Imposition, but appears ever before his people like the Sun, carrying in his looks no less Serenity than Splendour in all about him; and answers any clamours of Joy with as cordial Blessings and Thanks: knowing it as uncomely for a Prince in publick to seem angry, as poor; That threatning no less danger to the Lives, than This doth presage incroachment upon the fortunes of all that come to see him. And though none can more freely command what belongs to his Subjects, he discovers no will to imploy any Arbitrary Power in his own Person, how well soever it suits with his Nature or Occasions; Handling all Grievances to his People by the mediation of others, whom upon emergency he delivers up to their Fury. Neither doth this lessen the number of these Harpies, any more than it doth Conjurors to hear their Predecessors were torn in pieces by the

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the command of those they had formerly nourished with their Blood. Thus by such amiable gestures, and the high price he seems in publick to set upon the Nations content, so great a Love is kindled in the hearts of his Subjects, that all the evils that fall upon them are removed from the principal cause, and attributed to such as are only instrumental in their promotion. A practice waved by our less advised Monarchs, who sit in Parliament, as *Jupiter* is painted, with Thunder in their hands, as if they had already the will and power, and wanted nothing but their Peoples consent to make them miserable; not affording a grateful concession, but by the high and rugged way of Exchange; nor good words, but to usher in a more chargeable Request; scorning to reckon with the Subject, and make even for their Minions and Officers Faults, till they are so far run in the account of Prejudice, that all Love and Obedience is quite forfeited, and the Crown exposed to the purchase of any that hath the subtilty and power to buy it.

68. For to obviate the like miscarriage, the *Turk* gives often a favourable hearing to such as complain of the Grandees, not seldom gratifying them with the Heads of their Oppressors. By which he doth not only stop the mouths of his People with a shew of Piety and Justice, but fills his Exchequer with the real Coin he finds about those thus complained of: Yet if he takes the Parties Life to be more considerable to his affairs than his Death, he satisfies the publick discontent, by translating the Offender to some remoter employment; where being farther from the Court, severity may be more necessary, at least not so dishonourable, as when it appears at the foot of his Chair: Thinking it not safe to gall the many-headed Monster twice in a Place with one and the same Engine. And by this even and constant procedure, an uninterrupted Prosperity hath been entailed to this Empire, that the voice of Liberty continues still such a stranger in their streets, as if their Language were barren of a word to express it.

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Thus by claiming nothing, he enjoys all, and by defending none of his bad Instruments, hath been secure himself, till these latter years, in which some Constellation seems to hover over the World, inclining all Nations to Rebellion. This imboldens me to assert it as a Maxim, *That Princes contract more hatred from the injustice and oppressions of their Favourites, than their own*: A far less Revenue than doth legally depend on a Crown, being able to correspond for a greater sum, than the follies of a single Person can possibly consume, unless attached by the bottomless humour of Play, which a prudent Prince cannot choose but look upon as far below the dignity of his Person: it being impossible for him either to win or lose, but at the prejudice of his Courtiers or Subjects.

69. Here is no medium between the Anger of the Sultan and Death: A great man flea'd out of Office, being rarely or never permitted to mingle among the People, who are easily suborned out of pity, to believe such persecuted for their sakes: Therefore Discontent is not suffered to live; the Power being as severely punished, as the Will to do Mischief: This makes the Grandees to carry their bodies swimming between Popularity and an epidemical Dislike: since though the first be the most certain Messenger of Death, yet the latter doth not seldom bring the same errand; For such as by Taxes or perverting of Justice (though by the Emperours command) are found abusers of the People, die some cruel death, to give the more publick satisfaction; whereas those who fall under his jealousy, in relation to his particular safety, leave the World by a less painful exit; which may breed an opinion in the multitude, That their Prince is only cruel on their behalf, and at the worst but severe in his own. Here the vanity of Court Minions is manifest, who like Beasts for Sacrifice are crowned and honoured till their Masters sins require their blood to set him right in the opinion of the People; in the fury of whom lies all the Hell, the Religion of most Princes teacheth them to apprehend.

70. **T**He Priests scrue up to the height of Miracles  
 all unusual Contingencies, which make not a  
 few in such a Mass of Events, neither is their Report  
 wanting to augment them: And these are still hanged  
 before the eyes of the people, either to terrifie or al-  
 lure them, as it suits with the present humour of State.  
 And thus the Popish Legend came to be gilded by so  
 many miraculous effects of Saints, and their Reliques,  
 which, after all contradiction was buried, appeared to  
 the World under no less than a cloud of witnesses:  
 Being capable of no stranger confutation than what  
 they receive from a present incapacity of doing the  
 like. Now if the *Turks* have been too numerous in their  
 election, or hyperbolical in the dedication of these pi-  
 ous, or rather useful deceits, the error is committed  
 after the example of the Court of *Rome*, the most ex-  
 act Copy for Policy the World affords. Nor is there  
 place left for blame in relation to either, since what  
 was obtruded upon the Catholicks heretofore, suited  
 as well the Apprehensions of those times, as these do  
 now the *Turks*: Therefore the imprudence lies not in  
 the folly of the Miracles, but theirs, who suffered such  
 Critical Learning to blaze out, as pretends matter of  
 Reproof in all things extant: Knowledge being as  
 great an enemy to our present felicity, as it was to that  
 Paradise. So as *Rome* is forced at this day to let Mi-  
 racles fall, out of fear to find her self detected by the  
 new Supernumerary issue of tatling *Apollo*; which out  
 of too much Wit, or too little Faith, make an over-  
 strict scrutiny into their Truth, hanging like Locusts,  
 and croaking like Frogs, about all things that seem  
 green or rotten in the Church: Nor will they fall off,  
 till their mouths be stopped by Preferment, or their  
 souls satisfied with Reason: Yet had she but enough of  
 the first, it might suffice to purchase a competent pro-  
 portion of the latter; or at worst, so much Sophistry  
 might serve her turn: But the ancient Piety being  
 drowned in Luxury, and her Revenue in a great pro-  
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portion swallowed up by the covetousness of Princes; the Pope and Clergy hold the Remainder by no better Tenure than by rendring themselves necessary to the ambition of Monarchs, especially that of *Spain*, Republicks being naturally not so auspicious to the Priesthood. Nevertheless, lest the Catholick King should attain to an absolute power in Christendom, under which his Holiness would be totally eclipsed, his principal endeavour has been to foment a difference still between him and *France*, and so by their banding to keep himself up in play, Shifts the Church was never put to, during the Golden Age of Ignorance, when Learning and all Books lay at her mercy; so as she had power to cut them shorter, or extend their sense as best fitted the occasion: The Laity being so perplexed between the hope of heaven and fear of hell, that the dark entry of Death gave the Priests as opportune a way to become their Executors, as the bloody night of the Passover did the *Jews* to rob the Egyptians. But now in the absence of the ancient Piety and Ignorance, the Church of *Rome* hath no better way to keep Reason from breaking in upon her (who like a Wolf hath, this last Century, lain gnawing at the Popes honour and profit) than by sacrificing more men yearly to the fury of the Inquisition, than *Solomon* did Beasts at the dedication of the Temple: an Impiety not chargeable upon the *Turk*, who kills none for the profession of any Religion, though never so contrary to his own; leaving God to avenge his truth, which no question he would not be long in doing, were he so angry with the opposit Tenets, as they in their furious Sermons are pleased to represent him.

71. The *Turk* finding Printing and Learning the chief fomenters of the divisions in Christendom, hath hitherto kept them out of his Territories. Yet whilst we try out our best time in tugging at the hard Text of a dry Book, or the study of strange Languages (which are but the bindings of Learning, and do often cover less Knowledge than may be had in our own

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diom) they came more adapted into State-Employments, and sooner furnished with clearer reason, drawn from the quicker Fountains of less-erring Experience; and were never yet found to be out-reached in prudence by the most politick and learned Princes in *Europe*. Nor can any think this strange, that considers what the custom of University requires at the hands of Students, viz. knowledge in the Arts so called, and a nimble mouthing of canting terms, coined by themselves, and so current in the commerce of no larger Understandings than their own, and such as are sworn to the same Principles: the vanity of which is in nothing more apparent than in this, that they can easier start ten Errors, than kill one; as is manifest in the differences between us and *Rome*; concerning which, tho' in right reason we do, and cannot but agree in many things, yet the heat and rancour of the dispute is no whit abated.

72. All Sciences any ways resembling those we call Liberal, are taught no where but in the Seraglio, where the Grand Signior hath the power to encrease or diminish the number of their Professors, according as it suits his occasions. Able men, resembling wanton Boys, that rather than be unemployed, will do mischief; None attaining to any perfection but what he hath use for: Idle Valour being the Tool, as Learning and Knowledge are the Operators of all Civil Dissentions. A course quite contrary to the ill-husbandry of *Europe*, (or more particularly *England*) in whose Body Mercury and Sulphur exceed Employment, which should be the Salt to fix the rest, and keep them from putrefaction: For want of which her Schools do man out as many Enemies as Friends; legible in the vast volumes of Controversies that lie vindible on every Stall. This results from the multitude of Grammar-Schools (in the builing of which appears more Zeal than Knowledge) where all come that are but able to bring a Bag and a Bottle, no unfit Emblem of the future poverty of their Trade; In which, like a Lottery ten

take their chance in Beggery, for one that meets with a Prize; and that, when it comes, is scarce worth the labour, cost, and time required in making them capable: No mens fortunes being confined in so narrow a Circle, nor built upon such shaking Foundations as those of Scholars: The fire already kindled in Church and State, by their clashing in Opinions, having melted the Basons and larger Plate, our Ancestors set up for the encouragement of Learning; which, like a Viper doth now endeavour to eat out the Bowels of her Mother. For the Parents of School Boys, not being able to advance them higher, all the rest is lost but Reading and Writing, and they rendered by seven or eight years lazy living, uncapable of the labour belonging to the more profitable Plough, and so become Serving men, and Lawyers, and Justices Clerks; by the vertue of which profession they turn cunning Knaves and cozen their Country: A charge circumcised in Turkey, by mixing the expensive callings of Law and Divinity together, by which their Priests are so fully employed, as no leisure is given to study Innovation in either profession, and consequently dries up the Fountains of Rebellion. Which foreseen by the prudent eye of the Divine Legislator, *Moses*, directed him to the uniting of the sacred Rites, and civil Sanctions into one Body, making the Law of the Land a piece of God's Law and Justice of the Magistrate, Religion: which stamps no less Authority upon the Law, than it procures Reverence to the Judges, and promiseth to the Government, where it is entertained, Length of days, and Safety on the one hand, with Riches and honour on the other. Which course affords also such Expedition as gives one side, at least, cause to applaud Justice; whereas here the bettered Party is left so little to boast of, that he returns home as ill satisfied, as he which had Sentence pronounced against him.

73. Neither are these Delays any whit remedied by the ill-husbandry of breeding so many to the long

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Robe, as are found in *England*: which excess springs from the multitude of Pedants that reign among us; who, like Flies, blow one another in such quantities, over the Nation, as they not only supplant those of their own Calling (which in it self were mischief enough) but infect all Government. Their Scholars, if they arrive to any maturity, at length turn Academicks, whose Cloistered and Monkish Learning is by Statesmen looked upon as resembling dead Honey, which is stale, course, and less useful, none being pure and Virginal, but what is sucked from every Flower that may be found in the wild Field of a general Commerce. For though out of the huge heap of University-men Providence hath snatched such choice Brands, as are able to illuminate the World, yet let these tawring Eagles speak sincerely (who like the Soul of Learning appear above that vast pile of Fathers, School-men, Linguists, Criticks, &c. heaped up by the Court of *Rome*, for a Funeral to all farther enquiry after Truth) and they must tell you, that the least part of this excellency came from their Mother: The Tongues being at the best but the Crackers of Knowledge: the Kernel remaining useles, if not bitter and loathsom, till picked and dressed by Employment and Experience. Nor can this be admired by such as consider the practice of ordinary Tutors, who throw to their Pupils the dry Bones, and not the Marrow of Erudition: By which more time is often consumed in the setting out, than a wise man perhaps would have thought well spent in the whole Journey.

74. This is not said to bring any water towards the cleansing of their hands, who either have or do intend to imbrue them in the sacrilegious Spoils of Colleges, to the utter discouragement of all future Charity; I wish them rather cut off: For though thousands are found to bury their Talents in the Ocean of Controversies, and an implicit adhering to the Writings of the Ancients (who might possibly err out of no less

policy than the Church of *Rome* hath since maintained them) yet all Ages do afford some that scorn to be tied up to Patterns, but enrich the World with such new Inventions, as may not only expiate for the Charge, but the Ignorance of all Foundations.

75. Thus I have shewn, that the *Turks* want of knowledg in our Learning or Religion, leaves him neither so Imprudent or Wicked, but that he is able to promote his own Interest, and willing to make his Subjects so far happy, as may suit with an Absolute Power.

A N

# I N D E X

Of the Particulars contained in the

## OBSERVATIONS

U P O N T H E

## Turkish Government.

1. **T**He Preface; Mahumet the Founder of the Turkish Empire: his Story disadvantageously recorded, for want of Pens of their own. 2. The time luckie for his Attempts. 3. His Followers ignorant, and (so) apt to take any Religious impression. 4. Cross accidents hindred not their Progress. 5. 7. His chief Rites gathered out of Judaism and Christianity.--6. Images prohibited, and why. —8. The Institution and Use of (the Jewish and) their Sabbath And—9. Priests. 10. Their Policy directed more to the Princes Interest, than the Priests—11. who are to be kept in a Mediocrity. 12. The Alcoran, by whom interpreted. 13. Prayers more frequent than Preaching. 14. In what Uses their Doctrine ends.—15. Not to expect happiness here, but in another world.—Their Practices not so bad as some Christians. 16. The advantages to the State from Oaths and Religion.—17. though a false one; and from Church men, who yet drive



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drive on their own interest.---18. The Mahumetan Rites not chargeable or grievous to Nature---Sacrifices, why omitted. 29. Their abstinence from Wine, and the Reasons thereof. 20. Their Constancy to their Primitive Institutes; the mischief of Change, and---21. Their Provisions against it.---22. Reasons of State for the Musty's Advancement and---the Emperours honouring him in publick. 23. Meca within his own power.---24. Which yet cannot always secure him from his Jealousie; but upon occasion he makes him away privately; yet without aspersing his Fame, and why.---25. Of the expediency of such clandestine Dispatches.---26. A Reflection upon Queen Elizabeth for executing Queen Mary of Scotland.---27. Of the Custom for the Grand Signior to strangle his Brothers. 28. Lust and Covetousness tolerated by the Turks.---29. Christians more impolitickly intent upon Penal Laws.---30. Punishments in Turkey not so common as severe: popular Incendiaries removed out of the way privately.---The Folly of Subjects to rebel, and Rulers to provoke them. 31. Turkish Honours and Offices not Hereditary.---32. Nor Estates, which makes all apply themselves to Trades: the benefits thereof, and mischiefs of Idleness.---33. Luxury, Excessive Building, Furniture---34. Horse races, Hunting, &c.---avoided (much) by their Polygamy. 35. Their publick Buildings magnificent; which some Christians demolish: advice to publick Spirits, rather to build Bridges, and mend High ways. 36. In order to augmentation of Empire, their interest promotes three things. 37. First, Obedience, either sacred, to the Musty, &c.---38. or Civil, to the Emperor, who is very absolute. 39. Secondly, Parity. 40. Thirdly, Fortitude. 41. Eunuchs made Generals, and why. 42. Janizaries, why unmarried. 43. Quarter seldom granted, or not till after full victory.---44. which they will not throw away upon poor places. 45. Their Ordinance. 46. Their Food not dainty. 47. Their Expeditions why in Summer: Their Armies so strong, as not to need Reserves. 48. Upon a loss they retreat, without hazard- ing another, and why. 49. They are able to keep the  
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Souldier employed. 50. The Cavalry encouraged, a Fend between them and the Foot; which prevents Conspiracies; the like doth their being raised out of several Nations. 51. Forts pernicious to such great Princes, tho' of use to weaker ones. 52. Religion, why not proclaimed the cause of War. Constantinople unworthily lost. 53. They fight not so courageously against those of their own Belief. Success an ill Judge of Truth. 54. The Sword an unfit instrument to plant Religion.—55. That of the Mahumetans, why it rather inclines to Hope than Fear;—Contrary to the Popish Goblins, which intimidate Souldiers: The Turks breed up theirs to valour and Obedience. 56. They count Fate inexorable, yet pray: though Praise were more proper. 57. Mahumetans and Jews abhor Christians for their Images and real Presence. 58. The Turk subtil in his Treaties, and if necessitated to break his word, charges the blame upon his Ministers.—59. Yet by reason of his strength, is seldom driven to such base shifts, as weaker Princes make use of. Perjury of latter times more frequent among Christians, which these Infidels avoid (in judiciary Trials) by examining witnesses apart, &c. instead of taking their testimonies upon Oath. 60. Why Jews must turn Christians before they may become Turks. 61. Opinions of Strangers indulged, and—Curtezans tolerated. 62. The Grand Signiors Revenue employed in his Wars,—his Pleasure. 63. His Wars, by reason of his strength, offensive, and—openly proclaimed, why. The Venetians impolitickly deserted. A Combination of Christians against the Turk,—how unlikely to succeed upon several accounts.—who should head it?—The Pope,—The Emperour,—The King of Spain,—The Venetians. Expedients to weaken the Turk,—The Jesuits (if the Pope could spare them) to foment Schism, &c. among them,—To shelter some of the younger Royal Branches, or Grandees, that may head an Army, &c.—64. Why the Turk seldom make Leagues,—sends Ambassadors, or—marries Foreigners,—though he take many Wives. 65. Why the Grand Signior appears not in publick, but on Horse-back, and in such splendor; yet takes his Rest

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past and Pleasures privately in the Seraglio; The contrary use how disadvantageous to Christian Princes: 66. His vast train in Progress; yet—affable and winning carriage. 67. For Impositions, and such like Grievances, he useth Instruments.—68. whom, upon occasion he either delivers up to the fury of the People, or removes farther off. 69. His Wrath fatal. 70. The Turkish Priests cry up all strange Events for Miracles, as well as the Papists—whose Juggles have been detected by the Learning of this last Age.—71. Which, together with Printing, the Turk tolerates not; A reflection upon University Customs. 72. Those Sciences the Turks have, are taught in the Seraglio only. The multitude of Grammar Schools among us do more hurt than good. In Turkey the Offices of Priest and Lawyer are united; as the Laws of the Jews, both Divine and Civil, were into one Body by Moses,—The best form of Government. 73. A modest Censure of, and—74. An Apologie for Universities and Colleges. 75. The Conclusion.



A  
DISCOURSE  
UPON

*Nicholas Machiavel:*

OR AN

Impartial Examination of the justness  
of the *Censure* commonly laid upon  
him.

**M** *Achiavel* is branded by all, neither can any  
absolve him quite from Blame: Yet, con-  
sidering he was not only an *Italian* but a  
Courtier, few can do less than admire his  
bad fortune to see one man inherit in particular the  
mass of Reproaches due to all Princes and Statesmen in  
general; so far as to stile, in way of Contempt, such  
*Machiavellians*, who in a truer sense might be termed  
Followers of *Charles* the fifth, *Lewis* the eleventh, or  
*Henry* the seventh. By this embracing the bare Appa-  
ritions of Vertue and Vice, without observing the true  
Substance, which they quite let pass; marking for Blem-  
ishes in precedent times, what Historians note for  
Prudence, if not Beauty in ours: So as he that impar-  
tially examines the lives of those formerly named (who  
are yet no Prodigies in the Nature of Government)  
may

may find more Evil, than can be deduced out of this mans Sense, or (for though we know) the worst of his Thoughts: Yet they have Wisdom inscribed on their Tombs, by the Penners and Readers of their Stories, in which they lie quite under the favour of some elegant Apology, hitherto denied to *Machiavel* by ignorant and ungrateful Posterity.

He was Secretary to the State of *Florence*, of which he hath left an incomparable History, with other Books so full of Truth, Learning and Experience, that the hand of Detraction hath not been able to asperse them; only it endeavours to attach some stragling expressions in a small Pamphlet, called His Prince, which are with far less Charity remembered, than so many larger and better pieces forgotten.

That he was imployed in honourable Embassies, is manifest from Story; And what umbragious and false Positions Embassadors Professions oblige them to, the Transactions of all States abundantly declare: For, as the *Italian* saith, *The best of Women with their Petticoats devest their modesty, to render themselves more grateful to their Husbands Embraces*; So Publick Ministers can hardly pay the endeavours they owe to their Country, without exchanging for worldly Policy a great part of that Candor which should be current in the more sacred Commerce of honest and religious men. Nor can any expect less hope of forgiveness in relation to such as by these oblique means advance the preservation of God's People, than the Midwives of *Egypt* may be supposed to have had, who purchased themselves Houses by such uncertain Protestations; as, if extended on the Rack of a nice Scrutiny, could not chuse but confess and appear to all, little better than Lies. Few humane actions can be separated from the dross of Deceit; only such are of best esteem, as carry the greatest mixture of Charity; which makes me humbly conceive, this Learned Man deserves less Censure: since such Princes only as *Jeroboam* (whose Interest is always to damnifie others in order to their own preservation)

servation) and not their Instruments, may justly be said to cause *Israel* to sin.

His was no new Design, but in all Ages projected by the most faithful Historians, who make it their business to personate and represent the behaviours of Princes, though never so undecent; and did ever purchase the more applause, according to the greater or less faculty they had to do it to the life. Neither can the strictest Religion condemn the Speculation of Ill, without betraying her Professors, if not her self: For with what vast disadvantage should a good *David* cope with a son of *Belial*, were there not prudent *Hushai's* to countermine the insides of wicked *Ahitophels*, and to learn men in power the Art to catch their wily Neighbours in their own Traps? Nor do we find his Directions shunned in a less publick Commerce than that of Princes, since it lies not out of the way of Instance to prove some sharpe inveighers against *Machiavel* have attained to Church Preferments, under the favour of worse or the same Principles that *Alexander* the sixth ascended to the Papacy.

Do any lay obscenity to the charge of *Albertus*, or is he not rather stiled the Great, for having so plainly set open the Closet of Nature? If any sort of men have reason to tax this Author, they are only Kings and Persons in power: For as it is the Custom of light women, imperiously to blame all broad expressions of what they captivate their Servants affections by; so Statesman may with more shew of Justice, complain of the publication of such Axioms, that being undiscovered, their use might be with more secrecie and success.

Neither doth any greater Reproach redound to him from such as pervert them to the prejudice of others, than to a Fencer, if his Scholars make use of his skill in the destruction of their Friends: It being only his aim to teach them how to guard themselves, and resist others that shall, contrary to the Laws of God, Nature, and Probity, endeavour to assault them.

Ignor-



Ignorance and lack of Experience in the Customs of other Nations are the Parents of these spurious Censures; for had they been where he writ, these Documents would be no more admired, than the most monstrous of those Chineses we observe in *England*, are in comparison of some to be found at the feet of the Alps.

Neither will a small abatement appear in his Charge if the days he lived in be seriously considered. His misfortune was, to be contemporary with Pope *Alexander* the sixth, and of intimate acquaintance with his Son *Cesar Borgia*: And what these were, is sufficiently apparent to men versed in Story: a study such proclaim themselves ignorant of, that can so bitterly exclaim upon *Machiavel*: For were they conversant with the procedures of Superlative Powers, his Rules would seem rather impertinent, and below the Practice of Princes, than to deserve such severe Reproofs, the sting of which lies in their own ignorance, not the more useful Knowledge, they condemn.

No Age abounded more with Action, or shewed the instability of worldly Honours plainer than that he writ in: Therefore from a man wholly conversant in Court-Impliments (where it is thought a Lunacy to look beyond the second Causes, or to act upon the credit of any higher Providence than their own) worse things in reason might be expected than his; which are really no other than the History of wise Impieties, long before legible, and since imprinted with new Additions in the hearts of every ambitious Pretender; yet he undergoes a Censure, equal with those that commit far greater wickedness than his, or any Pen else is able to express.

Divers Estates in *Italy*, did in his time desire, or actually change their Lords: A juncture opportune to teach nothing so naturally, nor require any thing more necessary than Aphorisms of Policy. For *Naples* was torn out of the House of *Anjou*, by *Ferdinand*, and the people oppress'd under Father and Son. *Lodowick*

took

took the Dukedom of *Milan* from young *Galeas* with the like treachery as *Francis Sforza*, Father to *Galeas*, had done from the Dukes of *Orleans*.

He saw the Descent of the French into *Italy* winked at by Pope *Alexander* the sixth, in expectation of raising an House for his Son *Cesar*, out of the Gleanings of the French King's Conquests; In which he prayed without his Beads, being so far out, in the account, as that after *Charles* had got a large share in *Italy* (through the mediation of the Jealousie of Princes, no less than the Discontent of the People, arising from the uneasie posture they lay in, so as all Changes were considered with delight) he entred *Rome*, forced His Holiness into St. *Angelo*, from whence, after some time, he came out swearing to such Capitulations, as the victorious King was pleased to proffer him: And though at his reception, the French King kissed his Foot, yet he durst not trust to his single Infallibility, but took his Son *Cesar* for an Hostage; and to hide it from the Envy of other Catholick Princes, he covered his detention with the Title of an Embassie, still to reside near him in token of Amity: But, not long after, *Cesar* procuring an Escape, his Father, contrary to his Oath, contracted a League against the French; so much to the prejudice of that Kingdoms affairs, as it may not only excuse *Machiavel*, but all Writers of Politicks, if they labour to abate the faith of Princes, in relation to the strictest Stipulations made with Neighbours, found seldom observed, but broken as oft as kept by absolute Powers, to the irreparable loss of the weaker Party: Whereas an Errour in private Persons may be expunged by an After-game, or helped by complaint, &c. Remedies too weak to cure the Wounds of Princes, who in such cases are saved only by their unbelief, and seldom perish, but through unadvised confidence, in giving too much credit to the Protestations of less religious performers of Covenants which rise and fall; not according to the more constant Standard of Religion, but the various success of world-

ly occasions: And he that knows not how rare a Commodity Probity is, in the Market of Princes, is no fit Reader, much less a competent Judge of *Machiavel*.

Leagues, Truces, Compacts, and Peace, are become so crack'd and invalid, through a daily miscarriage in performance, as they serve for little better use, than to buy in smaller Territories, such as *Lorain* and the lesser Cities and Principalities in *Italy* and *Germany*, that have little else to trust to, but the promises of Protection they receive from more Potent Monarchs, which they know would devour them, but out of dread of each other: Therefore bound by the strongest reason of State, to balance them upon the access or desertion of every fortune good or bad.

Which makes Oaths among Statesmen, upon a true survey, to signify nothing; at best, more danger than profit: Binding only such, as, in relation to impotency or Honesty, stand in least need; and becoming, like Juglers Knots, no ways astrictive to the more potent, who are ever able to elude them by flights, or break them by power. Now since *Italy*, for whose Meridian he calculated his Adviso's, consists, for the most part of weak pieces, it shews him more excusable, if not commendable, in fitting them so accurately to their practice and conveniency. And till all Kings agree (which is never to be expected) to keep their Stipulations and Covenants, you cannot think it reasonable that a Subject to the Duke of *Florence* should have advised his Patron to begin; so contrary to the examples of those times, as it was known, the Pope did then contract an Amity with the Grand Signior, which in Charity, may be thought he meant not to observe, though for his sake, he suffered himself to be hired to poyson his Brother (fled into Christendom for fear of tasting the fate of the rest, after his Father's death,) and might have been of great advantage to any, that had designed to abate the Ottoman Empire: Now after the breach of Faith, so contrary to the promise made to this poor Infidel, at his being



put into his hands: and his Holiness's own interest, in case the *Turk* had invaded *Europe*, it cannot be more passion than discretion, to condemn *Machiavel* for his reasonable Advice in relation to the Oaths of Princes.

After all this, he saw *Charles* the French King lose *Italy*, with the like facility he had gained it, all the advantages he might have made being snatched from between his legs, by the Catholick King. And the Pope and his Son, by mistake, poysoned with the same bottle of Wine, prepared by themselves for others; by which the Father was taken away presently, but the Son, fortified with Youth and Antidotes, had leisure to live and see, what he had gotten, torn out of his possession, and himself forced to fly to his Father-in-law, the King of *Navarre*, in whose service he was murder'd.

It were heartily to be wished, that unlawful practices were only vendible in *Italy*, and not the traffick of all the Courts in the known world: where the marks, the Text hath set upon *Jeroboam*, who (according to the Dialect of *England*, for I find it not so elsewhere) may be styled, *The Machiavel of the Jews*, cannot scare Princes out of the same path: For what King hath failed to set up Altars at *Bethel* and *Dan*, when their power is in danger, by the peoples going to *Jerusalem*? when *Saul* was but a Subject, he sought to the Prophet for his Fathers Asses, but after his assumption to the Throne, a Witch is consulted, about the success of a Battle. Christ saith, *Not many great, &c. are called*: Men's out-sides, at Court are soft, but their hearts (within) feared and hard.

Pride is the root of all Evil; which Princes do not only foster in themselves, but water by preferments in all others they find able to promote the ends of it: whose effects cannot be comprized in a narrower circle, than the whole Mass of Impieties, Ambition is able to commit: That prompted *Phocas* to kill his Master the Emperour; *Cesar* to ruin the most glorious Republicque ever the Sun saw; It teacheth Children to pull

undecently the Crowns from their Fathers Heads; it is this that fills Hell with Souls, Heaven with Complaints, and the Earth with Blood; It made *Charles* the Fifth, to arm himself against him; he believed, if he believed any thing, to be the Vicar of our Saviour, and would have led him in triumph with *Francis* the French King, made his prisoner the same year by a like fate of War: Neither did *Philip* the Second do less than mingle the blood of his then only Son *Charles*, with the great quantity he spilt upon the Face of *Europe*; yet his thirst unsatisfied, he set a New World abroad in *America*, which he let run, till it was as empty of people, as himself of pity. Are not the Heads of Nations presented by Historians, like that of the Baptist in Chargers of Blood? Nay what are Chronicles less than Registers of Murders and projects to bring them about, to the best advantage of ambitious pretenders? Yet none are so severely blamed that writ them.

I would not be so far mistaken, as to be thought to apologize for tyrannical principles and practices, knowing they render both Doers and Sufferers miserable: My aim being only to prove, that if *Machiavel* stood legally indicted, he could not be condemned by those at the Helm in any State, who in all Ages were his Peers, and could not therefore in equity take up a Stone against him. Bad Advice, without Execution, hurts only the Giver: Besides, I cannot believe, the generality of those that cry out upon him, in publick, ever saw or read his Writings, but take their Clamour upon trust, as they do against *Julian*, stiled the Apostate, how truly, I leave to such as are better able to judge, than thousands of men so impudent as to extend incomparable Wits upon the erring Rack of Common Fame, in imitation of their ignorant Ancestors, who looked upon Mathematicians as Conjurers; though Wisdom hath justified these her Children so far, as to inform the World, that no Learning is a greater Enemy to falshood than theirs.

Yet *Machiavel* is so modest as to ask, Who had not rather be *Titus* than *Nero*? But to him that will be a Tyrant, he proposeth a way less prejudicial to his Temporal Estate: As if he should say, Thou art already at defiance with Heaven, therefore to preserve thee in an earthly power, no mean is left but to be perfectly wicked, a task not higher to be performed, no not by the worst of Usurpers; It being as far beyond example that any Tyrant hath done all the mischief requisite to his own and Childrens safety, as that the best of Kings have, in any age, put in execution all the good. Now of the first he proposeth *Cesar Borgia*, for the most absolute pattern, who used all Artifices to remove every impediment standing between him and his desires, but his own, being sick at that time of his Fathers death, which perplexed his affairs so, as he could not bring in a Pope of his own Faction; for want of which, his so well-built Designs (as he fondly supposed) fell to the ground, as most of theirs do, that prosecute Empires by oblique means; into whose lap Divine Justice not seldom throws Destruction, or some louder Discontents, that overvote the pleasure, Ambition takes in the accomplishment of her ends.

But since it is sometimes the will of God (for Reasons best known to himself) to give a happy success to bad means wisely contrived, why should this Florentine be so bitterly inveighed against, who cannot be denied but to have had at least as vertuous Principles, for a Member of the Roman Church, as *Alexander* the sixth, that was Head of it? with whom all Impieties were as familiar as the air he breathed in, so far, that it could not be so well guessed, when he spake true or false, as by the abundance of Oaths he used when he meant to deceive.

Worldly Wisdom is recommended to us in the person of the unjust Steward; and I pray, what doth *Machiavel* say more of *Cesar Borgia*, but that he was a perfect Tyrant? And if he presume so far on your (better supposed) Honesty, as to propose him for



an Example, yet it is still of Evil, and what fitter pattern can there be for an Usurper, than one of his own Coat?

Neither are the Rules he lays down, waved by the best of men, if wise; for who executes not ungrateful actions, by Deputies, acceptable in person? And all these his Documents he gives only to a Prince; for had he designed this practice to a Son, or any else circumscribed in a narrower room than a Kingdom, he might be more justly condemned: but undertaking to make a Grammar for the right understanding the Dialect of Government, why is he blamed for setting down the most General Rules, and such as all Statesmen make use of, either to benefit themselves or hurt others? That they make no conscience of falsehood, is manifest by *Lewis* the Eleventh, that learned Father in King-craft, who pronounced him ignorant of the way to live, that knew not how neatly to deceive.

That Breach of Faith in private persons, is not only destructive to well-being but also damnable, he cannot deny: But Princes pretend larger Charters in relation to a more universal Commerce; which they extend to Embassadors, and Ministers of State; as counting all things honourable that are safe: and if this be an Evil, it is the King's, and no way curable, but by the King of Heaven.

To conclude, a Body politic is like that of a Man, which when it is altogether, shews outwardly a beautiful and comely sight; but search into the Entrails from whence the true Nourishment proceeds, and little is to be found but Blood, Filth and Stench: The truth is, *Machiavel* is observed to have raked deeper in this than his Predecessors, which makes him smell as he doth, in the Nostrils of the nice and ignorant; whereas those of more prudence and experience, know it is the most natural favour of the Court, especially where the Prince is of the first Head; of which, such as come in by Succession may abate much.

OBSER



OBSERVATIONS  
UPON THE  
K. of *Sueden's* Descent  
INTO  
GERMANY.

Within an Age or two, sometimes more, sometimes less, according as the World is inclined to Happiness or infelicity there hath still risen up some Ambitious pretender or other, that hath laboured to Build himself a Name by the effusion of Humane Blood: And these offering fine Subjects for Discourse and Romances, and by the Antients stiled *Heroe's*; by the Moderns Conquerours and men of high spirits. The first of these we hear of, is *Nimrod*, branded by God himself; To him *Alexander*, *Cesar*, and innumerable others succeeded, who for the most part stand highly registred in Historical Calendars, because they afford good Pens an easie way to render themselves immortal by a neat expression of their Butcheries, when indeed they both deserve rather the curse of Mankind, the one for doing, the other for recommending to posterity such cruel examples, without giving them the true name of wolfish Ambition, which all merit, who infest others Territories out of no more pious reason than Aug-

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mentation of Empire. The principal Errand, however palliated (to purchase Partakers) with more plausible and gilded Motto's in their Flags, which they hold out to the people. And I believe if God had continued the King of *Sueden* in life and success, he had gone as high in Blood, and as deep in Devastation, as his Ancestors and Goths did in *Italy*, where they ruined such Monuments, as Time could not have yet demolished, but that she received assistance from their barbarous hands. And now I have set him under his natural colours, I am bold to maintain, that he that looks to the end of his Prospective, shall see his Actions reach beyond the Darings of all (in that kind) that ever went before him, as may appear by these Circumstances.

1. He did not fall on men drowned in sloath and Luxury, but on a Prince whose prudence was lately weakened with the loss of a Crown, and his peoples valour new whetted by regaining it. Being so far from wanting all necessaries for War, that, besides new ones of his own, he was Master of all such Magazines, as were provided by the Elector and his party: So as it may with reason be believed, that if the *Suede's* little finger had been in the endeavour to lessen the *Austrian* Family, when the *Palsgrave* put in his hand, the King, long before his death had possessed the imperial Throne.

2. No party (in any extant Relation I have seen) is heard to call him in: All the Forces he had, or could raise, appearing to the world as inconsiderable; till he had shewed them such a Miracle, as a puissant Army upon one Horse. After whom they ran to gather up the Spoil, who, till then, had their heels shackled with *Cæsar's* Successes.

3. The Duke of *Saxony*, the most potent Prince of the Protestant party, had no stronger Title to his Estate, than what he derived from *Cæsar's* power who had placed him there for the like fault, in his Elder Branch (which yet remain'd in being to claim his right) he must have fallen into, had he yielded succour or assistance to the Suedish Crown.

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4. He had seen the King of *Denmark*, coming on the like errand, baffled. A Prince inferiour to him in little but Valour and Temperance; having the *Sound* at command, not to be over-matched with any advantages the *Suede* could properly have called his own.

5. The jealous hatred, this and all other Nations have to these Northern people, as desirous by nature to better their Heaven, with an incroachment upon Neighbours, that live under a more auspicious Sun.

6. The new Protefts of Fealty made by the Princes and Hans Towns to the *Austrian* Family, procured by his late Victories, the terror of which had so cooled the zeal of the people, and evaporated the heat they formerly were in to regain their Liberty.

7. The assurance he had, that *James* of *England*, who refused to bear his own Honour and the cries of his Children, would never listen to the voice of a Stranger, that had no better Cards to shew for his future Success, than Valour and good Conduct, in which the old man had as little Faith as Knowledge.

8. The *Hollanders*, his most considerable Friends, could not help him, but by way of Diversion; being far off both in respect of distance and quality of their Power; the States chief strength lying in Ships, no ways serviceable to the *Suede* in his Inland expeditions: And to counterpoise this, as if Fate had renounced all assistance but his own, the Duke of *Lorain* had cast himself blindfold into the Arms of the *Spaniard*; with whom was as madly joyned the French Kings Brother, both in Alliance and Persons at that time very considerable, in regard of the known weakness of the King of *France* his Body, and the surmises of his Sterility, thought to be supplied by the Cardinal's industry.

9. He could not expect such cordial help from *France*, as a natural Prince of *Germany*; because upon success he was ready to assume the Title of Emperour to himself; the only bait likely to draw in the most Christian King. Neither could that Nation be assured,

red, that, his ends attained in *Germany*, he might not be prompted by his good fortune to invade them, Ambition swallowing all opportunities of gaining, without the taste of any former obligations. And for the French King's being chosen by the Reformed Princes Head of the Union; He knew that King looked upon it, rather as a scorn put upon *James of England*, for his neglect, than as an honour done to himself; the *Germans* being wholly compelled to it by necessity, in that juncture of occasions.

10. For *Mony*, accounted by all the only Oyl able to make the Engines of War move, he could not have much, being numbred among the poorest Kings in *Europe*. And to make this effect the more impossible to be dispensed with, he knew the Emperour like a *Colossus*, had not only a leg of Iron in *Germany*, but one of Gold in *Spain* to assist it upon the least offer of any motion to offend him.

11. The best he could expect at first (till Success had made him formidable) from the *Landgrave Van Hesse, Wittenburg*, and the rest of the meaner Princes, was a modest Neutrality: Or if they were so mad as to rush themselves into a sudden declaration for him, there was a large compensation made to the other side, by the unfeigned assistance of the Duke of *Bavaria*, who had his affection newly purchased by the rich donative of the *Palatinate*, together with the Principal *Lay-Electorate*; which could hold no longer good, than the Emperour was maintained in Superlative power.

12. It is true, that *Wallestin* and the Emperour's Veteran Militia had parted from the last Action with some discontent: But this is so ordinary at the Disbanding of Armies, when there is no farther use of them, that it could not infuse so deaf and ill Spirit into the generality of the Souldiery, but that the sound of the next Advance *Mony* would soon cast it out: And one to command in chief was not hard to be found, where the late Combustions had created so large a choice,

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Had he been beaten, or sneaked out of the Action, as Denmark did, such Reasons might have been upbraided to him, as rashly neglected: But since he was able to break through them all, *they multiply the weight of stronger of his own*, which led him on against these; not to be found but in his own Head, and the confidence he had of his Conduct and Valour; doing many things wherein appeared a Hand more powerful than Fortune's; who was not able to make her self Mistress of his Sword, but by taking away his Life: And that done, Victory had been so much his, that it could not be denied to his dead carcase.

If the strength of the Enemy adds to the Conquest: who could cope with a stronger, and upon more disadvantages? so as who ever reads the Advisoes of those times, shall find that the King of Sweden made, not only Rome, but Constantinople, to tremble; the Turk standing in such admiration of his Valour, that he lost his activity, and did not only forbear to make incursions into Germany, which on less occasions he used to do; But gave off all thoughts of offending others, as if he feared he should have work enough to defend himself.

And had the Swedish Sword made as deep impressions in his Empire, as it left in Germany, they would have been looked upon as Miracles; And, instead of Antichrist (which by reason of his success, some Catholics fondly call'd him) he would have been styled, *The Champion of the Gospel*.

All the advantage I can find the King had, out of himself, was the Emperour's Ignorance of that Common Lesson, so often repeated to the Prejudice of the wisest Princes; *That Slighted parties are followed with the greatest train of inconveniences, in relation to such as despise them*.

Now if men esteem of Souldiers, by the quantity of Blood and Land they have wasted, King Philip the second of Spain will out-go them all, in his Conquest of Peru, and the rest of those weak people: But if Reason may be heard, the least part of Germany asketh more difficulty to reduce it, than both the *Indies*, or all that Alexander and his like are able to boast of.

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A  
DISCOURSE  
UPON

*Piso and Vindex;*

Who both conspired the Death of

N E R O,

Though with a contrary Success.

**P**ISO a Noble-man born, beloved of the People, drawn into the Action rather out of the perswasion of others, than his own affection, associated with the choicest Wits in the Roman Empire, followed by the bravest Spirits, and armed with pretences that were proof against all the darts Reason or Religion could cast at them, yet miscarried in the midst of these advantages, falling soon after into the same Grave, he had most justly measured out for Nero.

The Foundation whose Ruin was laid by Vindex, that had no stronger materials to work his destruction, than what he hammered out of his own invention, and the advantage he took from the love of a broken Legion, no way considerable in respect of the rest of the

Princes

Princes Forces, that stood at this time firm to him, having had their affections newly warmed by divers Largesses and a daily Impunity; stronger engagements in such corrupt times, than all the vertue and piety incident to flesh.

It's true, *Vindex* never lived to see the effect of his brave attempt, as the most stately Fabricks are commonly least enjoyed by those that build them: Yet the Reasons why his beginnings did succeed, rather than *Piso's*, may be some of these.

1. Of which the first lies hid in the dark Book of Fatality, where all things are kept from perishing till they are arrived at the utmost period Providence hath set them; which is for that time as constant in the preservation of the Instruments of her wrath, as the Dispensers of her clemency: But when the critical minute, appointed for their destruction is come, they lie level with their feet, whose hands before were not able to reach them.

2. The manner of *Piso's* attempt, which was to assassinate *Nero*: An endeavour no less indecent for men of Honour, than unproper for a Tyrant; who as he is Enemy to all, so ought he to perish by the hands of all, which by a Clandestine dispatch, had not only lost the pleasure, but the example of their Revenge. Neither was it in any degree of possibility likely to be concealed, and therefore the harder to succeed, having been communicated to so many, and of so different tempers, who out of hatred to others or love to themselves, could not choose but reveal it.

3. As the body of Man, be it never so sound, is maintained in being by contention of humours, the blood flying to the heart upon any sudden assault: But if a Bruise be made in a remote place, it falls not out so, but affords the virulent matter leisure to gather. Thus are bad Princes with more ease and safety destroyed by a remote and open hostility, than a sudden and private attempt: For, near, men see daily so many effects of their cruelty, that they are afraid, studying  
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more their own safety than the freedom of the Commonwealth.

Besides the familiarity with Tyranny makes it so domestic, that those within the Verge of the Court know not well how to live without it: Therefore they must be tender of his preservation, to maintain their own power, having rendered themselves either actively or passively as odious to the people as their Master.

4. As any thing that ministers occasion of discourse, the farther it extends, the more sound it makes; and he that gathereth Snow, hath a Ball proportionable to the distance he rolls it: So those that cry out afar off, upon the abuses of the Court, do not only draw attention from some about them, but tickle the ears, and stir up the Spirits of all such as have felt, or do fear the weight of Oppression. Nay, such persons themselves as at a nearer distance, would, out of hope or fear, labour to quench it, will, a great way off, look upon a combustion, with delight: Novelty being of that nature (especially following things ill) that it raiseth more expectation of good, than it can destroy.

5. Open force doth assure the Malecontents, that there is pretence made of no more than what is cordially intended; to which the soft whispers of a few Confederates cannot enough perswade: It being the ordinary practice of tyrannical Governours, by such instruments to entrap others for whose lives and Estates they long. But in this case, Report, that represents nothing in its due proportion, instead of the danger that is, musters up all that may be: And in this the concerned Tyrant seconds her; who looking through the false Spectacles of guilt and fear, reads his fortune worse, than possibly it is written, and above prevention; so far as though Hope (the last friend in such adversities) cannot quite be shook off, she fixeth upon lower objects than the continuance of his former power. This flattered *Nero*, that though they drove him out of *Rome*, yet for pity, or to satisfy

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fic his Party, they might be drawn to leave him *Egypt* quiet: As foolish an opinion in him, as it had been madness in them to think any power meet to be left in the hands of an exasperated Prince, whose Revenge cannot be buried but in his grave, especially if it respects his Subjects: For though himself might be of a nature to forgive it, those about him cannot, but will be ready to incite him to take it upon all occasions.

6. Where there are many that conspire, the apprehension of any one will soon detect the rest; whereas the like resolution taken by a single person, and not communicated, seldom fails, being secure from all fear, and hastned by no accident but what opportunity presents.

7. Ill Counsel is rather to be harkned unto, than, none at all; there being a possibility to mend it with better: whereas dull suspension loseth time, a thing irrecoverable; and doth not only assure the Adversaries, but disheartens Friends, giving them leisure to listen to the free offers of the contrary Party.

It may be observed in the fall of *Nero*, that the meanest Conspiracy is not to be slighted; For in a crazed Commonwealth, the least jangling will bring the multitude about the ears of their Governour; who, having offended all, knows not whom to trust, that hath any power with the people: And this perceived by his own, they desert him, or by his destruction labour to purchase their particular safety: For what hope can another have in him, that distrusts himself?

He that had lost the love of his people, cannot be certain of his present safety or moderate ruin when it comes; for the most part sudden in regard of his own knowledge, though presaged and wished by all the world besides.

No prudence can maintain a Tyrant long in power: for though he may divert the people from making inspection into his disposition, by exposing his Agents to their mercy; yet at last the succession of the same abuses will direct them to the true cause; which being once disco-

discovered to lie in his Nature, nothing he doth shall please, but be suspected for more evil, than it can in probability produce: The worlds Opinion exercising no less authority over Kings, than meaner men. Besides, *the delivering up men in Authority to the rage of the People*, like letting of Blood, may stop the progress of a present Fever, but much weakens the power of the Prince, to resist a future distemper.

After the disorders of a Tyrant are laid before the eyes of the people, it turns thousands his enemies in an instant, that out of Custom or Conscience prayed for him the day before. Who are more solicitous to advance his destruction, than careful to choose a Successour that might be fit to govern. Their Discretion extending no farther than their Nourishment, which they only receive from hand to mouth. Therefore all the use that can be made of this popular Monster is, during their first heat: For, their expectations deluded (being incapable of honour or reward) they are ready, with the Dog, to lick up the same *Nero* they had vomited out. And, that it is easier to expel a Tyrant, than to find a Prince in all points worthy to succeed, appeared by *Galba*: And by *Otho* we find, when the multitude are up in Swarms, they care not what Bull they light on.

If *Seneca* had got the Imperial Diadem from under *Piso*, it is uncertain, whether he had been able to have kept it: Vertue having shewed her self as great an enemy to a fresh Family as Vice; to whom Cruelty is for the most part more necessary than Clemency, especially towards the Nobility, who are observed to carry the most natural affection to the old line, that first wound them up to honour.

I would be loth to blame *Seneca* wrongfully, though the immense Treasure he left behind him doth, not only, by consequence, accuse him of too much Covetousness, as some Authors are bold to lay Ambition to his charge; which the worse became him, because impossible to be satisfied but at the cost of his Maker.

But

But admit this Stoick in outward Profession, though an Epicure in his Gardens, &c. to be as good as he desired to be thought, yet if he had not restored to the Romans their lost liberty, but sought to establish the Government in his own house, he had only imitated their Charity, that take a Slave out of one cruel Family to put him into another, that might in a small time prove as bad: or if he had governed moderately all his life, it had been like the good day in a Fever, which is so short and uncertain, that it takes away all taste of Ease and Delight, &c.

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A  
DISCOURSE  
UPON THE  
*Greatness and Corruption*  
Of the Court of  
R O M E.

**T**Here is nothing Idleness and Peace makes not worse, Labour and Exercise better; The Tree that stands in the Weather, roots best, and deepest; The running Water, and Air that is agitated, are most wholesome and sweet. The cause of this may be deduced from God's eternal Decree, That nothing in Nature should remain idle and without motion: This also extends to the Children of Grace, who go more nimbly about the works of their heavenly Calling, being driven by the storms of Persecution, than when they have nothing but the smooth voice of Prosperity to allure and persuade them. The *Martyrs* professed Christ more boldly, amidst the flames of the hottest Persecutions, than we dare do in the Sunshine of the Gospel.

God never made a larger promise of his continuing Truth in any place, than to the Nation of the *Jews*.

Yet how often do we find it buried in the rubbish of Errours and Impiety? Their Kings and Priests either teaching, or at least tollerating Idolatry: The Church being driven into so dark and narrow a corner, as the Prophet *Elias* could not discover a righteous man: Neither was *Jerusalem* in better plight, which had the Temple, and in that the Oracles of God, in possession. For if it did escape profanation during the worst days of *Solomon*, his Son *Rehoboam* saw it plundered, and in most of his Successors Reigns it lay neglected or misemployed. So that if a stranger, led by the glorious title the *Jews* had, to be the people of God, should have conformed himself to their worship, he had scarce mended his market, though he were before never so great an Idolater. Yet God never gave a larger Charter to any Church, part of it being contained in these words, *I have hallowed this House which thou hast built, to put my name there for ever.* This proves God's Promises conditional, and that outward Felicity seldom accompanies inward Integrity; or if they have the luck to meet, they presently part, mens hearts being ordinarily too narrow to entertain goodness and worldly pomp.

The Churches we read of in the New Testament, with whom the Holy Ghost was so familiar, as to direct particular Letters unto them, are not now to be found. Only *Rome* brags, she remains the same in purity of Doctrine, though for Manners she is as corrupt as her elder Sister *Sodom*, so that if *Italy* be a Circle of Impiety, the Court of *Rome* is the Center. Yet these plead their Title with God himself, grounding it upon the tottering Foundation of worldly felicity: Forgetting that it is against the example of all times, that any Nation, much less a Church, should so long sail under the merry gale of earthly prosperity, and not long ere this discharge her self of that rich lading she was fraught withal, when she traded for Souls, under the Fathers of the Primitive times. There having been such a succession of imperious greatness in that

Chair, as *Rome* is now more like the proud and triumphant Chapple of Antichrist, than the poor and militant Church of God. All the calamities that have of late fallen upon her, may be said to have dropt from her own Ambition, in seeking to enlarge her power at the cost and prejudice of others, and therefore more naturally to be styled punishments than Persecutions.

You cast your eyes on no Story where the villany of Popes is not at large discovered; who can then believe that the pure Spirit of God should indow with infallibility of judgment Monsters so visibly corrupted? We find, the Holy Ghost did under the Law hate and forbid all impurity though in meer outward Ceremony; how then should he under the brighter light of the Gospel, suffer himself to be poured out of one unclean Vessel into another; beginning again with a Conjuror where he left with a *Sodomite*?

Yet they say, *Rome* is the true Church, out of which there is no Salvation: Not remembring that the holy Scripture, Charity and Reason tell us, God's Church is as universal as the Earth; and shall one day be gathered together under Christ the Head. Now in the meantime, that harmony of Opinions they pretend to, may be rather wished, than hoped for. In *Paul's* time some made conscience of eating things sacrificed to Idols or others of Circumcision; yet he condemns them not as schismatical. And it is but a weak evasion to say, *Rome* bare with them in regard of the infancy of the Church. For in these days of knowledge she is as infantine in some places, as she was then: where he that taught had the strength of Miracles to justify his Doctrine which these want, and are driven to this shift in defence of them, to cozen the people with such as are superstitious. Now if there be no salvation out of the Church of *Rome*, not to speak of our selves, &c. where charity is it to think all the water cast away, that is poured in Christ's name upon the faces of those Christians in *Greece*, *Russia*, and remoter places, to which the Ages curiosity and covetousness hath taught the



the way? This makes me think there is no room for such monopolizing opinions: But I leave this to Divines, returning to the Pope.

After the Piety of the first Bishops of *Rome* had purchased them Reputation, and that God had not only opened the hearts of Potentates to receive the Gospel, but their hands to build and endow Churches: They being advanced first to the Dignity of Arch-Bishops, thence to Patriarchs, and so at last to the Papal Supremacy, (a name derived from *Pater Patriarcharum*, which for brevities sake was written *Pa Pa*) exchanged their Piety for Promotion. It being the Custom of frail Humanity, to conclude goodness at the beginning of Felicity.

For taking the advantage of new kindled Zeal wisely observed by them to be the hottest, the Popes were able to lead Kings and People whither they pleased, and in the interim had the opportunity to proportion what power or riches they thought fit for themselves.

Now as Policy is not able to keep long the right way to Heaven, so at last it led them into a world of Impieties, by encroaching, under pretence of Religion, upon higher Jurisdiction and Power than could naturally belong to Subjects: which wanting strength of their own to maintain, they sheltered them under the Donation of such Princes, as had no better Titles to their Crowns, than was derived from an Usurpation over the weakness of those in former possession; glad of the Popes Protection, because they found the generality of men either out of Religion or Ignorance, made their estimate of the truth or falshood of the Titles, and legality of the Claims of Princes, according as they were more or less current in the opinion of their Clergy, whose judgments depended wholly on the Bishop of *Rome*, who afforded his approbation to their illegitimate Titles, out of no weaker Reason of State, than they at first desired it: Laying up with all diligence their Petitions, and his

Grants, to remain as Precedents for their posterity to be guided by: Therefore it is no wonder, why these Tyrants and Usurpers should strengthen the power of the Pope, since the foundation of their own was laid upon the exorbitant excess of that of Rome: which is so improved, as the Emperour hath, for many ages, received his Crown from their Successors, to whom his Predecessors had formerly given the Mitre.

The cloud of Ignorance, that did then cover the face of the world, was a great help to keep their juggling undiscovered: For that little Learning extant in those times was wholly included in the Monastical Clergy, (the Laity being intent upon nothing but Wars and Pleasure) so as they had opportunity to make all Books and Records speak in their favour; which being Manuscripts, and so but in few hands, it was no hard matter to corrupt them. Besides, being prohibited Marriage, they did neither respect nor acknowledge other Posterity or Alliance, than those to succeed in the same places, of whom they had so religious a care, as they thought none merited well of the Church, that did not leave them endowed with more Power and Immunities than they found them: Making it an Article of the faith they owed to the Profession, *to suppress the Laity, and advance the Clergy*: And if this was the End, they esteemed no Means ill, conducing to it.

Thus by Time, the Indulgency of good, and Necessity of wicked and illegitimate Princes, they freed their whole Society from the Jurisdiction of the temporal Magistrate, not suffering them to be liable to any punishments but those eternal, and such as their own superiors shall think fit to lay upon them; seldom suitable to the fault, unless in case of Schism from their general Tenets: and in this their Jealousy, no less than prudence makes them very severe. Now having purchased Ease, Honour, and Impunity, such as were Poor, Guilty, or Ambitious, beside Younger Brothers, and those

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those in Debt, entred their Fellowship; which freed them from present want, and fear of punishment for former Offences, how capital soever: And these being, for the most part, of the best natural abilities, soon learned the skill, so to work on the Consciences of dying people, and those affrighted with their sins, that the Church was left Heir of the best part of Christendom. And taking encouragement from the blind zeal then reigning, (which till Printing had opened a way to Knowledge, rendered all things possible unto them) they did not only make use of such profitable Errors, as their Fore-fathers left them but brought in new ones of their own contriving, gilding them with the splendid titles of things necessary and of religious use; Amongst which were Images, brought in at first only to encourage others to imitate their constancy, whom they saw painted, with the manner of Death they had been put to by the Persecutors of those Times: Of the Cross, wore anciently only for a Cognisance, they have made a Tutelary God, looking no higher in their Extremities: The blessed Saints were scandalized with the Worship given to them, and their Reliques: whom, in a full imitation of the Heathen, then made Protectors of their Cattle, and smaller Pleasures, as Hawking, Hunting, &c. And because the Bible did not, in their opinions, afford a store sufficient for all uses, they have added a number more as may be found in the Legend.

To the Monks, and all sorts of Friars, the Popes have successively given immense Priviledges and Indulgences, wisely considering, they gain them victories, without the Sword, and are a strong and faithful Militia, fed and paid by the respective Princes of Christendom, who though they know they depend on a Foreign Power, yet few dared to explode them: so sharp and terrible was their fear of the Knife, and more deeply wounding dart of Excommunication. And because, in case all Kings should have joyned, it might have gone hard with his Holiness, he kept them im-



ployed abroad at the Holy War, or at Enmity one with another, or at least at Unity with himself, by maintaining their usurped Titles, or dispensing with their Incestuous or Adulterous Marriages. But finding, in these latter days, Knowledge hath exposed him to a Reformation, and that Princes would no longer make the vindication of his Temporalities, or what, under the notion of Spirituals, he is pleased to call His, a matter of Religion; and not daring to alter any thing formerly admitted by his Predecessors, for fear of falling under this undeniable Conclusion, *That he which hath erred in one thing, may in more*: He most politicly called in the Inquisition, which turneth no less to the profit of the Secular Prince (who hath all he dislikes condemned by an Authority uncappable as well of Envy as Revenge) than the Preservation of the Ecclesiasticks, and his Holinesses power from falling under ordinary Dispute: which Policy he borrowed of his younger Brother *Mahumet*, whose errors remain to this day in Credit, because it is death to question the truth of them.

No man can say the Pope imitates *Peter*, except in denying his Master; who following the example of Christ, did in humility wash his Companions feet, which this doth in jest, during the holy week, as they call it; but suffers his own to be, in earnest, kissed by Kings and Emperours. It is true, he stiles himself the Servant of Servants, but is content to be worshipped under the title of Lord of Lords: Nay some of his Flatterers have given him the name of a God, yet with *Paul* and *Barnabas*, he doth not rend his Cloths, saying, *He is a man subject to infirmities, as others are*; but rather seeks to seem worthy of this Title, by proclaiming to the world, *That he cannot err*, a power God hath wholly reserved to himself; or if communicated (which I will not now dispute) it is only to the Church in general, when in his fear they shall meet to determine matters of Religion, which is so contrary to the nature

nature of his Greatness, that no sound is so terrible to him, as that of a General Council, a thing this Age cannot hope to see free and intire, by reason of the contrary Interests of Princes, who, together with Religion, mingle their covetous and ambitious Pretences: For if such interruptions had not been, so undecent a proceeding should never have taken place, as was in the Council of *Trent*; where the Emperour suffered the Pope to be Party and Judge, and the Bishops bereft of all power, either to propose or determine. Nor were the Plantiffs admitted to more favour or liberty or disputation, than to remain quiet, and hear themselves condemned: so as in conclusion, though this Synod was desired only to abate the power, and reform the abuses of the Court of *Rome*, it was managed by them with so much policy that it did rather much strengthen and confirm the exorbitant power of that See.

The greatest things in dispute between Papist and Protestant, are matters concerning Profit or Honour which may satisfy any, not delighted with blindness, that they were brought in by diligence of the Priests taking advantage from the ignorance of preceding Ages.

From all which I may conclude, that such amongst them as are wise, conversant in History, and acquainted with the present practice of the Court of *Rome*, are foully to be suspected of Atheism; because Conscience can never be persuaded against a convincing experience: which is also made good by the irreligious *Italians*, from whom comes this Proverb, *The nearer the Church the farther from God*: For such abhor Religion, because they see the Pope makes but a politick Robe of it, taking the liberty himself to put it on or off, as becomes his occasions.

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UPON THE  
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Pope LEO the XI.

**I**N the Negotiations of Cardinal *Peron*, may be found a perfect Journal of so much of the Election of *Leo* the Eleventh, as was possible to be known by one side; to which Discourse I shall refer all those that do believe the Pope can be the true Successor of *Peter*: It being incongruous both to Prudence and Religion, to imagine the Holy Ghost should mingle interests with the ambitious ends of Princes, who shun no impious means to make him succeed, that is thought the truest friend to their Occasions. I know it is not only in the power, but the practice of God, to raise his ends out of ill means; Yet it were presumption in men to shape out his work, though he be able to fit our endeavours to his own Honour.

But the Court of *Rome* seeks to make the people believe, that, notwithstanding these Considerations, after the Mass of the Holy Ghost is said, he is as really present in the Conclave, as he was with the eleven Disciples, when they chose a Successor to *Judas*, who be-



betrayed Christ. In which they acknowledge themselves either *Atheists*, or presumptuous fighters against God; For if the Choice be his, how dare they interpose their mediation, or hope the French or Spanish Factions can possibly prevail; one side ever interrupting, because both cannot be pleased. They have of late been made sometimes by the other, which must conclude the Holy Spirit subservient to humane Endeavours, or no more friend to this Choice, than to that of the Grand Signior.

Here you may see how they labour to hire or force the Holy Ghost to fix upon some such subject, as may be most auspicious to the prevalent Party, who is invoked out of Ceremony, leaving the rest to be hewed out by themselves. Before these Monarchs grew so potent, the troubles in the Conclave were rather more than less: For the Cardinals made Elections so tedious by their towing, that sometimes the *Romans*, sometimes other Princes, forced them to resolve. And to avoid such constraint, they did often pitch upon Impotent men, such as for Age or Weakness were not likely to hold out long, (as this *Leo* who died in few weeks after his assumption) during whose time the Pretenders are at leisure to concoct their Designs better; which is ordinarily done by Bribes, or in case they prevail not, by Poyson; nay the Devil is not left unsought to: So as *Balzac*, saith, *None, on this side the Alps, labour more to look well, than some of them, to seem sickly and weak*; hoping by that means to obtain the Chair; which is able, of a gouty Cardinal, to make a sound Pope.

In antient time the Bishops of *Rome* were chosen by the Parish Priests of that City. And how, since, Cardinals came in, is no more known, (though not ancient) than the date of many Novelties, that have most shamefully been imposed upon the Church: Yet to this day, no Ecclesiastical Cardinal (for they have others) but retains among his titles, the name of one of the Parish

Parish Churches in *Rome*, though he be ordinarily called by his own name, or else some other Bishoprick or Dignity he hath in Commendam. By the institutions of a former Pope, which for shame they dare not revoke, all his Actions that gets into the Chair by *Simony*, are null: Now what are all these sinister Endeavours, but so many several sorts of *Simony*? If *Simon Magus* had attempted by Policy, mediation of Friends, or Flattery, to have obtained the Gift of the Holy Ghost, should his fault have been less, or not rather greater; Many being the richest offer he could make, and most suitable to the Apostles wants, which he saw others, indued with the same Spirit, daily cast at their feet? And if this be granted, when had the Church a Head able to utter any thing but Falshoods, or Nullities; All Popes having, for many years entred at one of these Gates? In Civil Kingdoms, the Crown is to be obeyed without questioning how the Wearer came by it; but to tie the Ecclesiastical power to these conditions, were to bind the Holy Ghost to the Popes Chair.

The Bishop of *Rome* lays an absolute claim to an unerring Spirit; but is not able to demonstrate the time when he had it: If it were always, the Errors found inherent in the persons were incapable of blame or retraction. Yet out of this Cloud of uncertainty, say they, the Holy Ghost dictates only to his Church, and such as deny it are Hereticks. If at any time he hath the Spirit of infallibility, it is, perhaps, at his first entrance into the Chair, as *Saul* had a greater measure upon his new anointing, then in all his Reign besides; yet in the Election of this *Leo* the XI. (of the House of *Medici*, and before his Assumption known by the Title of Cardinal of *Florence*) appears no such matter, which would not have been omitted by the Penner of the passages of their Conclave; being an Eye-witness and a Cardinal, who doth pride himself much in his fortune, and the policy both he and the French party had used

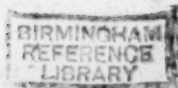
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in his advance. But it may be, *Paul* the Fifth, who succeeded this *Leo*, had it, when he made so great a present to the Devil, as at once to excommunicate the whole State of *Venice*, with all the Territories belonging unto it: But this was afterward condemned by himself as rash and inconsiderate, terms most unbefitting a thing done by God. And wise Men may here justly take occasion to conclude, that no Pope doth think, or ever thought, he had a power of not erring: For if such a Spirit were an usual Companion of that See, *Paul* the Fifth would have expected the operation of it, and not have troubled a State to so little purpose, without the assistance at least of a Revelation.

He that desires to be informed of the Illness of Modern Popes, may be abundantly satisfied, if he consult Historians, who are not dumb in declaring the faults of the Court of *Rome*. The truth is, were it not for the strict (or if you will, call them pious) Lives of a few melancholick Friars, it is impossible so much wickedness should not be hooted out of the World.

Yet the Court of *Rome* hath as strong Supporters as Policy is able to bring, though her truest Friends are Ignorance, the Inquisition, and Interests of Princes: The first lies in every particular Man to reform, the second for the most part in the King of *Spain*, the third only in God.

*Political*





Political Occasions  
OF THE  
DEFECTION  
FROM THE  
Church of *ROME*.

**A**S some Diseases, and other Muls (but accidental in the first result) become, after a small Succession, hereditary to a Family; So Opinions, if once inveterate, render their Professors Ears, like those of the Adder, deaf to the wiser and more probable Charms of Reason. I come just now from talking with a Papist, and find him (though a Scholar) so wrapped up in the old Rags of Tradition, and inspired with so strong an Implicit Faith, that I think it had been one of the nearest things to impossible, for the Bishop of *Rome* to have lost so many, had he not fallen into such Errors as these.

1. The seeking to maintain a greater shew of Piety in the Church, than was suitable to humane Frailty, and the comforts of Life: The Friars Habit being no less nasty than unseemly, and therefore shunn'd by nicer Judgments and those of Parts, not so capable of temptation from any thing, as Pleasure and Profit: Or if such Austerity was called for, in relation to external Zeal, (the Parade of all Religions, and fit to be

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mustered up often in the eyes of the people) yet the generality might have been left to more decent Accommodations, by which they had become sociable unto others, and not loathsome to themselves.

2. Though such Austerity was enacted from the Members, the Head and Capital Clergy observed not the like: which alarm'd not only their Maligners, but those of their own Coat, whose Desert of Fortune had not raised them to the same Transcendency.

3. The admittance of Printing, impossible but to prove disadvantageous unto those, whose strongest evidence, for the maintenance of their power, lay in the Ignorance and Patience of the World, which this could not but be thought probable both to inform and disturb.

4. The suffering Nations to swell into such vast Bodies, as *France*, *Spain*, &c. The most obtained under the Churches pretence, which in favour to one, and malice to others, did blast Princes titles by the thunders of Excommunication, and set the people at odds with their Natural Sovereigns. By which Exorbitances they taught the *Germans* and our *Henry the Eight* to find out a Remedy by applying to this proud flesh the powder of Reformation; the strength of which made the same Zeal, that swell'd the Priests to this height, as ready to tear away the ground from under them.

5. The mixing a desire of temporal power with what is purely spiritual, put such an alloy upon their Sanctity, that it became less current, than otherwise it might have been, had they not used the Sword, which *Peter* only drew (and yet not without a check) in his Master's cause, to purchase Principalities for their Children and Nephews.

6. The falling into the common Error of weaker Princes, who, to palliate some extemporary mischief, do oftentimes contract an incurable inconvenience, as was done in the case of *John Husse*, and *Hierome* of *Prague* :

*Prague*: in relation to whose proceedings the Fathers in the Council of *Basil* enacted, that *no Faith was to be kept with Hereticks*. By which they have rendred themselves incompatible with any other Tenets than their own; To whom they do by this almost as much as confess, that upon the access of a power sufficient none are to expect milder conditions, than to lay their heads upon the Block, or cast their Consciences at the Popes Feet.

7. The irrepealable Authority given to the Decrees of all approved Synods, opposeth the Custom of Nature, and course of all sublunary things, which are apt to change; no less than true reason of State, that abhors to be shackled by any severer restraint than she is able to cast off upon approach of a greater advantage: The dispensing with an unsociable Tenet being far less prejudicial, than the continuance of it against the grain of the generality.

8. The Pope should have removed at least so many of the Hundred Grievances, presented at the Diets, as he found all Estates concurred in the dislike of: The charge and trouble incident to the *Roman Religion* afflicting mens temporalities as much almost as their Falsehood could their Consciences: It being more policy to part with things not absolutely necessary, willingly, than by constraint.

9. The open partiality shewed in the affairs of divided Princes: By which the one side is made perpetually his enemy, and the friendship of the other no longer permanent, than it receives benefit; being wise enough to see, that the same Arts and Power that are able to help now, may, upon the recoil of Interest, be as apt to hurt: All strength conjuring up jealousy in Kings, that is not absolutely at their own dispense.

10. The ordinary and slight Provocations the Pope took to draw the dagger of Excommunication: which acquainted Princes no less with the bluntness of his Weapons, than the keenness of his Malice. By which they

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they were taught to abate, so much as possibly they could, the reach of his power, lest it should have increased to an universal prejudice; nothing being more notorious than the Ambition of the Church, not possibly to be moderated, but by an absolute restraint, and an open discovery of the Arts used to twist the Interests of Christ with those purely their own; a medley of Colours apparent to judicious eyes: with which Religion was so daped, that it was embraced by the most, rather out of ostentation than love, or pure zeal, and so not likely to continue long.

11. Had he turned the edge of his Ecclesiastical sword against *Turks* and Infidels, which he hath, since *Greg. the Great*, chose rather to sheath in the bosom of Christians (whose differences, especially if they intrenched upon his Supremacy, he fomented into flames) he might have enlarged the extent of his own jurisdiction by a supply of new proselytes, who are ever fonder of their Nurses, than those whose sharper experience of the Covetousness, and Ambition of the Church hath weaned from being so highly pleased with the *Roman Guegaus*. I confess it unsuitable to his Interest, to suffer all or the major part of Christendom to fall under the jurisdiction of one person, for then his power would be eclipsed, as the Moon, in Opposition; or quite lost, as the Stars upon the approach of the Sun: which arraigns him of Indiscretion, for suffering the *German Empire* to be Hereditary: easily to have been foreseen, when once it fell upon so powerful a Prince as *Charles the V.* not likely to part with any thing he had once possessed, and now too strongly rooted in the *Austrian Family*, ever to be eradicated but at the cost of a total subversion, either by the *Turk* or *Lutheran Professors*.

12. The several Orders, and distinct Names they gave the Friars, known to breed Emulation and Division among them; as is evident about the Conception of the *V. Mary*, &c. And the irreconcilable feud between the

active Society of Jesus, and all the other duller Fraternities.

13. Ceremony (though the Body of Religion, yet) is too weak to bear that Stress the Priests laid upon it; who should rather have built upon Faith, to which nothing is impossible: Considering withal that though external behaviour may add warmth to zeal, yet a redundancy of it doth not seldom suffocate and extinguish it, by converting it into Idolatry, which is a palpable mistake in the worship of God, and cannot long, among knowing people, be held from clamouring for a Reformation; which the Pope should ever have prevented by a hasty doing himself: For if once undertaken by the uninterested Rabble, they will never leave, till the form of worship is bruised and beaten out of all comeliness, so as nothing can satisfy but the molding it anew. Which the wit of no single Age, much less that contained in a few Heads, is able to make compleat: Church Discipline, well instituted, being the highest result of all Prudence, God hath intrusted men withal: whose materials too near scrutinized, seem to discover more Policy than Piety, by the contemplation of which mens Judgments being once dazzled, they are ever after propence to *Atheism*, and a prejudicial jealousy of their Teachers.

14. The Pope neglected the prudential carriage of a Miller, who being supplied with a larger stream than the conveniency of his Trade requires, suffers it to run waste, rather than endanger the subversion of the whole Engine, he hath liv'd so long happily by. Whereas the Pope permitted the Ecclesiasticks, not only to appropriate to their particular profit, all that which ignorant zeal did voluntarily and plentifully shower down upon them; but connived at the Mists and Thunders they raised in the Consciences of Dying men: By which they became co-heirs almost in every Family: Forgetting that A great Booty invites Theft, at best Envy; it being unlikely, Princes should long forbear squeezing  
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such Sponges, out of awfulness to Religion, as had no better authority for their dreining their Subjects, than they drew from a foreign power; owned by the most, rather out of Policy than Piety, especially since it was ordinarily with his Holiness himself to make great Levies upon no other reason, than to augment his own, or raise new Empires for his Sons or Nephews.

15. The abundance of such contingencies bred a neglect of their surer and more legitimate Patrimony, consisting in Tithes and unquestioned Church duties; very sufficient to have maintained a number large enough for the loading the patience and conveniency of the most prudent States, without the addition of such vast Revenues, not possible to be apprehended but under the notion of things superfluous in the Church, since Christ in person never owned such Plenty, which made it seem more undecent in him that pretended to be his Vicar.

16. Fallacies discovered in Miracles; which call in question as well those antiently and truly done, as such as are reported to be new. Thus the pious Deceits our Ancestors used to bring men to salvation, are not only made Stales to catch Profit, but instrumental to Infidelity.



## *A Discourse in Vindication of Martin Luther.*

**H**E may be suspected of Hypocrisie, if not *Atheism*, that too suddenly leaps out of one Opinion into another; It being impossible for meer flesh and blood, to pull up all at once a Religion rooted by Custom and Education in the Understanding, which must be convinced, before it can let in another with any cordial welcome. I speak not of the antient and extraordinary Callings of God, but those experimented in our times, in which overmuch haste doth often times bewray Deceit; As appeared in the Bishop of *Spalatto*. who in my days left *Italy* for fear of *Paul* the Fifth, his enemy, and reconcil'd himself to the Church of *England*; but the old Pope being dead, and his Kinsman in the Chair, he resumes his former Errors, and goes to *Rome*, in hope of Preferment, where contrary to promise, he dies miserably. When Falshood is fallen out with for any other respect, than Love of Truth, it inclines to *Atheism*, and is so far from mending the Condition of the Convert, that it renders it worse.

None ever shewed greater signs of God's Spirit, than *Luther* did; who observed such Gradations, as it may appear he found fault with nothing, he was not first led to by the dictates of Conscience. Falling first upon the abuse of Indulgences, too apparent an impiety, to pass by so acute a Judgment undiscovered: From this he ascended to higher Contemplations, which afforded him the opportuniety to take notice of re-

moter and deeper errors. His Wit and Learning having that vast advantage over the stupid Ignorance of those times, that he bare down all before him, without any other Opposition, than the contrary Faction was able to raise out of power; much weakened by the desire all Princes had, to set limits to the Pope's daily Usurpations. And as for the Books, then writ against him, they did rather sharpen than blunt the desire of Change: For the Friars had so long enjoyed a free current of the Doctrine without interruption, that they were more intent on the reaping of such Fruit as grew from the Errors sown by their Predecessors, than upon Arguments to defend them. So as if Princes, that were weary of the yoke of *Rome*, had wanted the guidance of *Luther*, it is not easie to say, whither they might have wandered. And tho' *Charles* the Fifth, then Emperour, to keep his Subjects in obedience, did seem to discountenance the *Schism* (as they called it,) yet he was content to shut up the Pope in the Castle of *S. Angelo*. Which proves his small affection, and the truth of this Tenet, that if ever Christendom falls under one Monarch, or turns into popular States, the power of the Pope will be lost or confined to *Rome*; being at this day only kept up like a Shittle-cock, by the bandying of Princes.

'Tis objected against *Luther*, that he was too passionate, using irreverent speeches towards some in Authority? Yet so much of this fault, as Zeal leaves unexcused, may be imputed to his Education. All can be said, is, He was but a Man, and subject to Common Infirmities. And because his Enemies do so often object this, it is strongly to be presumed, his worst fault. I could have wish'd, he had not married a Nun: but I believe he did it to shew People, The Quarrel was irreconcilable, as *Abalom* projected when he polluted his Father's Bed: And in this sense, the benefit takes away much of the blame; which lay not in the unlawfulness, but the inexpediency of the Fact. And

to shew, God did not curse his Match (Though he might participate of the fate of other learned Men, who seldom find their Abilities, represented in their Issue; yet) he left three such Sons, as did not give his Enemies occasion to upbraid his Memory with them.

For the Real Presence, maintained by him in the Sacrament, it doth not so much condemn his Judgment in this, as it justifies his Integrity in all the rest: He being as resolute to vindicate what he thought true, against the persuasions of his Friends, as he was against the threats and promises of his Enemies: For if any by respect could have warped him, it would have been a desire to appease the hot Dispute, the retention of this Error raised in his own Party; wholly of his Judgment but in this particular, in which *Zwinglius*, and the *Helvetian* Church did oppose him. And if this be not enough to wash him clean from the imputation of Self-ends and Covetousness, the Proverb used in *Germany* may, That Poor *Luther* made many rich.

As he was protected from a number of apparent mischiefs, so the same had freed him from many hidden, in respect of the eyes of the world, it being impossible, that he, who had gall'd so many Grandees, should not have Revenge laid in wait for him, in every corner: Experience proving, that Kings themselves can scarce whisper against the Court of *Rome*, but the Knife is ready to give them a final Answer. His Death was with as little Molestation, as his Life was full: For being call'd to the Country of *Mansfield*, the place of his Birth, to determine a Case in controversy between two Princes of that Family, he died there in the sixty third year of his Age.

Had the Apostles, nay our Saviour himself been alive, and maintained what *Luther* did, they had been persecuted by the Clergy: Therefore the Crucifying of Christ is no prodigy in Nature, but daily practis'd among men: For he that can find the heart to stigma-

tize



tize and whip his Brother, for an Error meerly in Judgment, would never have spared *Peter* or *Paul*, coming with no more visible Authority than they had. But this is not the way to suppress an Heresie, since most are jealous of that opinion, which useth the Sword for her Defence; Truth having been long since determined to be most strong: And where Oppression is, there for the most part, she is supposed to be. This shews as little Discretion as Charity in such as persecute those, that may be in the Right; or, if not, shall by this means, be kept the longer in the Wrong. If a Horse starts, the more he is beaten, the harder he is kept in the way; but let him stand, and have leisure to consider what he blanced at, and he will perceive it is a Block, and so go on. Yet it is neither cruelty nor imprudence, to restrain such furious Spirits (as they do Dogs) that will bawl and fly at all they do not know: But I should be utterly against burning their Books in publick, if they have once gained the light: which only adds to their price, and saves them a labour; because, if the State did not put them in credit, by their notice, they would perhaps, after a while for shame, burn them themselves. The Whip reforms not so much as he that endures it; but is taken as a triumph by the Faction, increasing their animosity, if not their number; so that in effect it proves a punishment to none but the honest and tender hearted of the People, who cannot choose but be scandalized to see the Image of God defaced by cutting Ears, and slitting Noses, &c. And this raiseth a strong suspicion, that the hand of Justice would not lie so heavy only on the preciser side, but that something inclines it that may at last turn to the subversion of the most moderate part.

The *Dutch*, though they tollerate all Religions and Tenets, yet none increased to their prejudice, till they strove to suppress the *Arminians*, who are in taste as like the Papists, as Scallions are to Onions; all the difference is, that the latter is the stronger: Yet since

they have let them alone, this Opinion is observed to be less numerously attended.

Had the Pope seasonably reformed the Error *Luther* discovered so apparently in the publication of Indulgences, and rewarded him with a Bishoprick, for his Learning and Zeal, let him afterwards have said what he pleased, it would have been looked upon by the people as of no credit: who like nothing so well, as what goeth cross to the grain of Authority.

The Lord Treasurer *Cecil*, having been unsufferably abused by Libels, sent for the Poet, and, after he had ratled him soundly, began to take notice of the poor Fellow's good parts, saying, *It might be vexatious poverty compelled him to make use of false tho' Common Rumours, given out by such as hated all in Authority;* To ease which he gave him twenty Pieces, promising to take the first opportunity to advance him. This favour (most contrary to his expectation, who would willingly have given one ear to have saved the other) did so work with him, and the rest of the Pasquillers of the time, that, till the Treasurer's death, none used the like Invectives. *Bancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, used the like demeanour towards some Gentlemen that had laid the imputation of *Sodomy* to his Charge, &c.

Clemency seldom causeth repentance in an established Kingdom, or if it proves a fault, it is easily mended; Whereas Cruelty can never be recalled, raising a far greater Party out of a thirst of Revenge, than ever yet could be mustered up from the hope of Impunity.

Therefore to conclude, since *Luther* alone had the power to do so much, let us not be thus severe against others, that having their zeal kindled (though perhaps at the wrong end) run madding through the world; but rather pity them, if they be in an error: Because they something resemble the first Messengers of Truth.

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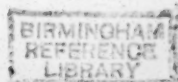
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By *Francis Osborn*, Esquire.

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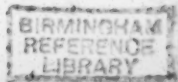
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# The E P I S T L E.

*My Dear Lucilius,*

I Do here leave to your better Education another Daughter of my Brain, that may not unpossibly pass with the less Scandal, because Chaste from any desire after new and forbidden Discoveries, or of disturbing that huge Trade Antiquity and Custom drive; the first amongst Scholars, who think it a sufficient excuse in the justification of a stinted Knowledge, to maintain an impossibility of transcending the Abilities of former Ages, yet cannot gainsay a visible improvement in their own; which happily would be greater, were Learning left free to every ones sense, and not confin'd to Patterns and Old Forms, harder many times to be imitated or made use of, than New ones found, which being our own, would appear more natural and adapted to the present understandings, in many things strangers to the Usances of the Ancients: whereas the second serves as an universal Chain, by which the generality are led to approve or dislike the Words, Actions and Gestures of others. Whose judgments, as I have long since not much valued, so have I a little wondred at Age, to find it so tetchy, when Youngers in years lay any claim to Knowledge: Since the goodness of the Eye, and advantage of Place, and not a long poring, discovers the Prospect; more of *London* being surveyable in a minute from *Paul's Steeple*, than can be seen in an Age out of *Cheap-side*: There remaining nothing in this world Prescription hath a weaker Title to than Wisdom, *the legitimate Daughter Experience brings forth to an able and active Understanding*. For though all things are found to own, in process of time, a publick vicissitude, yet for the most part it is too slow and cunningly carried, to be discerned at any distance (especially in relation to the

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### *The Epistle.*

present) which way it turns. The ignorant Travel-  
ler may see by the Dial, the Time is in a declension;  
but, without entring the Church or Court, shall be  
never the wiser as to the knowledge of the true and pro-  
per Causer of the Motion. For my self, I confess I  
am more highly bound to Letters, than any acquired  
advantage or natural endowment self partiality or o-  
thers indulgence hath hitherto been able to estate me  
in. Now if some, owners of such parts as I am con-  
scious of the want of, did prosecute the like Study,  
having a purse and will to purchase a sight of the In-  
telligence, Negotiations, Conferences and Transacti-  
ons of all those that have resided in Embassy with our  
Princes, they might no question be able to compose a  
more exact Chronicle than this Nation ever saw of her  
own; and for Elegancy, it would, like honey, drop  
out of the same leaves he gathered his Information  
from; Epistles being the quintessence of the Writers  
judgment, as they are undoubtedly the Elixar of his  
Rhetorick. And he that desires a more exemplary ma-  
nifestation of this infallible (though for ought I ever  
observed, seldom practised) Truth, may find it in  
that learned *Italian's* History of the Council of Trent;  
a Piece that challenges all the veneration our partial  
Modern Readers do or can offer at the Shrines of An-  
tiquity; a folly sure not so conversant in the World  
before Printing, otherwise the most part of New Books  
from time to time had still been buried in their Swadling-clouts  
for want of Transcription, which few or none would now  
foul their fingers ends about, as not esteeming it worth the  
labour out of sloth or contempt: So far, as the Stationers meer  
zeal to Gain, rather than any propensity to the advancement of  
Learning, did for a while keep *Bacon*, *Raleigh* and divers in-  
comparable Spirits more, from perishing at the bottom of Obliv-  
ion; Good Books (antiently written in the Bark of Trees, and  
now) running, in their progress, so exactly the fate of Acorns,  
that if their chance be to withstand the Swinish Contamination  
of their own Age, and trampling into the dirt of Contempt, they  
do not seldom afterwards become the Gods of the Nations, and  
have Temples dedicated to their Worship; As their Authors in  
this participate with other good men, who attain not to a state  
of Glory till after this Life.



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TO THE  
**READER.**

**T**Hough the study of History be an ancient Prescript for the avoiding of Ignorance, and production of Knowledge, and to this day far more in use than any other Politick Aphorisms: Yet with reverence to this confessed excellent Dose of others approved Experiments, I doubt not but Princes and Men in power might find a readier if not a more infallible way to Prudence, by being conversant in all sorts of Letters relating to Embassadors, and such Spies and Ministers (of Common-wealths especially) as are employed abroad or at home in the Transactions of Treaties, where all things appear bare-fac'd and at first hand, not smutted with Interest, or adulterated by the red and white paint of Envy, Fear or Flattery. Nor is the frequent opportunity of discoursing with Contemporaries (who having enjoyed a nearer Light, cannot but have seen more than those by Time and Birth placed at a remoter distance) any despicable Ingredient in the Composition of an exact Statesman; of which I find few that deserve (in my judgment) the title, commonly forfeited to an over-remissness, or excess in Sanctity, or Profaneness; or, if you will, to Hypocrisie or Scandal, which at long running will meet both with the same Inconvenience. To be sure, my self have as little propensity as sufficiency in this Art; being no less obstructed through mulets received from Fortune than Nature; the latter of which is as incapable of amendment, as the first is unlikely to find it: (For after

*To the Reader.*

ter the Death of a good Father, being driven into a corner of the world by Injuries received from the nearest of Kindred, and remotest of Friends, I was not only invited by Leisure, but compell'd through Necessity to seek these Diversions: In which if I be mistaken, the Pardon cannot be long in suing out, since I hope they shall not meet with a severer Judge than my self, (for whose Recreation alone they were intended.) Tho, the small insight I have had into Affairs did not seldom gratifie my spleen with as much delight, as it may have not unpossibly affected less sanguine Complexions with fury or disdain, to see the Valet brought into play, where discretion called for an higher and more exact Courtier: or to hear the People wrangle and cast about their money, through a Fanatick desire to discard a present Government; not foreseeing their hopes may possibly be deluded in the same, if not a worse Stock than they make out and lay by; often bartering a pack of Fools for a like quantity of Knaves and Mad-men: The giddy multitude being far likelier to be out in their account, than this advised Adage. *Seldom comes a better*; especially if no wiser heads be found in the Election than their own.

Nature hath employed Three Senses chiefly to wait on the Body, and but two on the Mind; yet under this advantage, that these last are distinctly double: For which of them we stand most obliged to Nature, is not yet pass'd decision; since, though in regard of Pleasure, Sight may have the Royalty, yet in respect of Wisdom, the Prerogative must not be denied to Hearing: It being the far greater Wonder to find a prudent man Deaf, than Blind: so as some are recorded to have put out their Eyes, as enemies to Contemplation. It is ordinarily affirmed, I have seen this or that, when the most of it hath arrived at us from Report. And in this sense I may be said to have seen these, and a number more, which out of respect to others Fame, or mine own Safety, I wilfully omit.

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*To the Reader.*

But lest this Confession might seem to cast a vail of prejudice over the face of that Truth I here expose to the curious eyes of this Age, as nakedly as Modesty will give a toleration for, I shall say in behalf of Tradition, That all Books are her Tenements, and contain little of History, whatever they may do of Invention, but what they hold from the manner of some Report or other. Nor hath the beginning, to be sure, if possibly the end and period of any Nation God in his love did establish, or fury destroy, a more faithful Register than Traditional Reports, not commonly loading its memory with the exact calculation of Time, which rightly weighed, is but the pedantick part of History, and so not unlikely the cause we find such differences arising among'st our Chronologers, the main sum or bottom of her account being no farther correspondible, than for a just and even balancing her layings out with what she hath received. To conclude with an Answer to those that may require some account of the present Undertaking; I think it far on this side such Impudence as Ignorance is found to plaister her Libels with against incomparable Queen *Elizabeth*, to own a strength able, by rubbing off such dirt (especially where Desert lies so thick upon her Tomb) to gild her Name, though the manner of doing it may stain mine own; since the few spots discernable in her Government are hidden, like those this Ages Curiosity hath detected in the Sun, from any farther notice, by the Splendor of the rest.

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THE  
PRINCIPAL HEADS

Of the following

MEMOIRS

On the Reign of

Q. ELIZABETH.

**Q**ueen Elizabeth her moderate carriage at first, till exasperated by the Popes rashness: Why the Infancy of her Reign continued quiet, notwithstanding so great a shake and turn in Religion——

2. —— To which she was in a manner necessitated.——

3. How the Parliament confirmed It and Her.

4. She breaks with Spain, assists the Dutch, makes Leagues abroad, suppresses Conspiracies at home: Papists prosecuted; The Popes too late Concession——being refused——is seconded with an Interdict,——which proves fatal to the Papists, and Queen of Scots,——Her death and the Duke of Norfolks, &c.——Censured.

5. Queen Elizabeth galls the Spaniard: Cales voyage under Essex——gets him Love and Envy.

6. The Queen foments Factions at home, and what use she makes of them, and of——her own inconstancy. The Spanish Armado in 88.

7. The Queens favour to Essex,——how often by him hazarded: His quarrel with Blunt——designed for his Rival.

8. His

## The Principal Heads

8. His Enemies restless endeavours to ruin him——by setting him on high; his ample Irish Commission.

A Character of the Queens Court, Majesty, Thrift: Provisions rated, Exactions of Purveyors punished.——

9.——A witty Example thereof in Kent.

10. Her Household Servants the goodliest of Persons, &c. that could be got:——as

11.——Her Council the choicest for Prudence:——apparent in her Marriage-Treaties with Spain and France.

12. Her Councils Integrity. Offices the reward of Merit. Her exact Intelligence. Bishop Bancroft's Art in dividing the Jesuits and Regulars——afforded him Popish Intelligence: His Character: His endeavours for Uniformity of Worship——hindred by the influence of the two clashing Factions at Court upon the other Bishops, &c.

13. Letters of State writ in a plain Stile,——involving sometimes an obscure sense, as those about her Marriages with France.

14. Court Hospitality.

15. Her prudence in receiving Treats from her more ambitious Subjects; how she diverted their humour of Popularity.

16. She opposes the Declaration of a Successor, and why: Denies the Parliaments Petition for her Marriage.

17. Contrary Reports about her Concupiscence. Her Art of Government and choice of Ministers: Why some of less Abilities were taken in afterwards: Earl of Nottingham Admiral; his Character. The Queen sparing in giving Honours, or suffering her Subjects to accept them from Foreign Princes; Examples thereof in Sir Francis Vere, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Matthew Arundel, Sir Philip Sidney.

18. Her modesty in point of Augmentation of Empire; refusing the Dutch as Subject, though she took their Cautionary Towns; and Havre de Grace——to regain Calis. The Spaniard by cutting off the Heads of the Dutch Nobility, makes way for the springing up of their Hydra of Popular Government.

Of the following Memoirs, &c.

19. Leicester's hopes of marrying the Queen; his freedom of discourse with her about it, and otherwise; His Character.

20. In Foreign injuries she never precipitated Revenge.

21. Parliaments frequent, and consequently moderate. She restrains their Debates about Succession and Religion. Keeps the Church humble, and carries fair with her Parliament. The Schismatics leave England; how it might have been (safely) prevented; what hindered it; the fatal inconveniences of those proceedings.

22. Ireland neglected, and why: The Lord Mountjoy ends the War: The baseness of the Natives,—how much Priest-ridden.

23. Essex's unfortunate Expedition thither;—Cecil's artifice to fetch him back, to—his Death;—From which neither the Love of the People, nor of the Queen his Mistress, could bail him, and—After which she never joyed;—The occasion of her Death—reported to proceed from the Countess of Nottingham's not delivering the Queen a Ring, sent her by Essex, (to whom she had formerly given it as a Pledge of her Affection and his Safety) which the Countess on her Death-bed discovering to the Queen, was by her sent with Curses instead of forgiveness, into another World.

24. After Essex death, Cecil being left without control not only urges the Queen to declare James her Successor, but uses other endeavours to effect the same.

25. The happy condition Queen Elizabeth left England in. No considerable Enemy. How we stood related to other Nations——Spain, Ireland, France, Netherlands, &c.

26. How at home, as to Parliaments, Credit, Treasury, Debts, Justice, The Church.

27. The Conclusion.



SOME  
 Traditional Memorials  
 ON THE  
 REIGN  
 OF  
 Q. ELIZABETH.

1. **A**fter the death of *Mary*, eldest Daughter of *Henry* the Eighth, had delivered this Nation (for that time) from an imminent danger of becoming Tributary to the Spanish King (who owns none for a natural Subject, indued with less Pride and Austerity than may serve to face a Tyranny equal to the Grand Signiors) and left the Crown to her Sister *Elizabeth*, not only swept and washed from all Competition or Claims by the blood of Queen *Jane*, but garnished with the applause and consent of the People; no less amazed at the huge fires she had daily kindled to devour the enemies of the Court of *Rome*, than jealous of the partiality shewn to the Priests, whose exactions were become no less odious in things temporal, than their Latine *Mumpsimus* had made them appear in what related to the Worship of God; *Edward* the Sixth's Reign being too short to give them a satiety, or make all the inconvenien-

niences appear, likely to follow so total a defection from a Church revered by all Christian Princes besides; It might be no weak motive to the new Queen, so fairly to demean her self at first, that though she entertained the Protestants in hope, no perswasions could tempt her to cast the Papists into despair, till the Pope (better seen in the Dignity belonging to his greatness, than the Arts his Predecessors had used in their Conduct to it) did, by denying her Embassadors a favourable Reception, reduce here to a present necessity of renouncing the *Roman* Mitre, or her pretence to that Crown she had without any considerable opposition so happily possess: There being no way so probable to continue her in power, after the Pope's so publick manifestation of a blemish in her Birth, as by adhering to a Party, which during the Reign of her Sister, did justifie in the flames of a hot persecution, That the Authority of his Holiness was spurious it self, and the Owners of it no better than Anti-Christ, which attempt of hers might possibly have worse succeeded, but for the protection *Philip* the Second afforded during the infancy of her Power, flattered to it in hope of Marriage, no less than compelled out of a fear to see *England* possessed by the *Scots*, a People ever in Conjunction with *France*, and therefore likely to prove malignant to his Affairs. And as these Considerations had made him solicitous of her safety during his Match with her Sister, they continued still so prevalent as he did not only forbear himself, but restrain others from making use of that Advantage, so total a Defection could not but Afford. Nor was the Aspect of a Council then sitting in *Trent*, (to which she omitted not to send her Ministers) of small Consequence to her Design; because not only this Nation, but all *Europe* were in the Strongest of their Labour to produce a Reformation; though far short of the pretences of *Luther*, to whose memory the Queen had an Unappeasable Feud, ever since he Upbraided her Father with the Re-

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puddiation of *Charles the Fifth's* Sister : whose Birth by this became so Unhappy as to be not only disapproved by the Catholicks, but the Fonder of that Profession she meant to Establish. Nor were the Religious Houses and Lands possessed promiscuously by those of both Teners, a weak Shelter to this new Princess, looked upon by all as the likeliest and most obliged Person to keep them from reverting to their Antient Use; And therefore in Hope to be vigorously asserted by the Protestants, and at worst but weakly opposed by such as had not yet quite relinquished the *Roman* Yoak.

2. And that the Penners of this Story, may be as free from the Imputation of Malice as Ignorance, tho' they acknowledge her rather thrown, than of her self fallen from the Obedience of *Rome*, is deducible from the Ceremonies used at her Inauguration, all purely Catholick, and the Retention of the Ring, Cross, and Surplice, contrary to the grain of her strongest Assertors; From whence her Aim may be guest as not pointing at a greater dissent from the Doctrine of *Rome* than her Fathers proceedings had chalked her Out; Commanding the Common Prayer Book (which contains most of the Mass in *English*) to be publickly read; And its Opposers, the *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, Family of Love, with a Number of other Crawling Errors, the unnatural heat of *Luther's* disputes had produced like Insects over all *Germany*, to be restrained under no slighter penalty than death or imprisonment. Nor was she tempted to this out of a vainer hope than to draw her neighbour Princes to the same resolution, already in despair of procuring good from any milder endeavours than those of Power. (The *Roman* Courtiers participating so much of the nature of the Mules they ride on, as they will rather indure through a sudden obstinacy, the last extremity, than remove never so little out of their track of Honour and Profit; no less manifest through all Ages, than in their carriage towards this Princess and their latter proceedings with the Re-



publick of *Venice*.) From whence more connivance than love, fell to the share of the *Puritans*, that abhorred the lenity of the Queen, in not countenancing such as bent their force against the Church of *Rome* (betwixt which and the Court there may be a wider difference than our grosser Disputes will suffer us to discern) from whose practice, though some desired a Reformation a far greater part thought it damnable to reject it quite: few yet acknowledging any Descent or ordination but what was derived from the Catholick Church, a term of too great a Latitude to be concealed for a day, much less for whole Ages as many endeavour to prove. But leaving these disputes to Dr. *Juel* and the rest of her Divines (at that time better able to play the Scholars prize, than any amongst the Friars, were found in their Answers) Her Juncto, in which she had a choice number consisting of both Factions, did think it prudence not to stray farther than the inexorable necessity of the time compelled, from that union of Doctrine which had a Council to vouch, *That no faith was to be held with any but themselves*; which must have rendered all her Leagues void or useless to the very Oaths she took of her Subjects: yet notwithstanding these Shackles she spun out a long and as happy a Reign as ever this Nation did enjoy.

3. The precedent Reasons joyning Forces with the deplorable condition she lived in during the Government of her Sister, and meeting with so fortunate a Catastrophe, caused a no less Consternation in the hearts of the Papists (already much broken and unsettled in their passage through so many sudden and unexpected changes) than it produced joy in those of the Reformation, who apprehending her Success as issuing out of the immediate care God had of their Affairs, became so far encouraged and sedulous, that whilst the other Party stood amazed in an expectation which way this new Princess would incline, the ensuing Parliament was wholly made up of such persons, as had already

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voted in their Words and Actions every thing the Queen could desire to have confirmed in the House : so as no side but were mistaken in their Account, the Protestants gaining more, and the Catholicks less than could be expected, to the taking the Title of Head of the Church, and conferring it on her Majesty, which was thought unsuitable to her Father and Brother, and therefore far more unbecoming the person of a Woman : they cause a Declaration not long after to be issued out, to shew in what senses it was to be understood. And to prove they more intended the limitation of the *Roman Power*, than to secure themselves from Tyranny at home, an Act was passed inabling the Queen and Commissioners for the time being, to alter or bring what Ceremonies or Worship they thought decent into the service of God, without excepting that formerly exploded : whereby a return, (likeliest to be made use of) or a farther remove was left Arbitrary at the will of the Queen : whose Successors not being mentioned in the Act, left room to question, it ought to be no longer in force than her life. For whose gratification alone her Privy Council (that did then, and indeed almost all her time govern Parliaments) had intended it. But King *James* and the Bishops finding the advantage it brought the Crown no less than the Church, did not only own it amongst the Statutes unrepealed and in Force, but did Print it with a Proclamation to strengthen it, at the Beginning of the Book of Common-Prayer. Neither had the High Commission any better Vizard to face the Tyranny daily practised by the Clergy, but what the Authority of this Act did afford ; which may one Day tempt the People to a new, if not a more dismal Reformation, after experience hath taught them how pernicious it is to entrust either Prince or Priest with any power capable of abuse : yet to the Honour of this Princess it may justly be said that she never made use of Her own Liberty to enslave the Nation, but repaid, or rather exceeded in thanks

and acknowledgments all Power they gave her; an Art lost in these latter Times, or thought Unkingly. But I leave this her Wisdom to be justified by the happy success.

4. After the Queen had in Parliament, cleansed her Birth from all the Spots the Poison of Tongues had aspersed her with, and received for the future from the Houses in the name of the Three Estates a promise of Assistance, together with an Oath of Obedience, by which she might rest secure from within; her next endeavour was to line and fortifie her out-works; In the prosecution of which she was forced through Reason of State upon a deeper Ingratitude than I believe any thing but an impulsive Necessity could have cast her into: For after a firm settlement she became the severest Scourge to *Spain*, that it ever had, since emancipated from the *Moors*. The occasion of which some lay at the haughty and proud Gate of the *Spaniard*, who grew implacable after he found he was deluded of his hope to marry her; others to a Nature residing in all Princes, not to acknowledge any Friends or Kindred but what are allied to a capacity of doing them some future good, which *Philip* the Second was not likely to do upon any remoter occasion than the possession of her Person, his ends being intent upon an absolute Monarchy: which obliged not only *England*, but all the Princes in *Europe* to oppose him. Nor could any favour received in the Relation of a private Person bind her more to requital, than greater Injuries did to revenge. Therefore since she forgave the latter, when she had power to have taken it without danger, she seems more excusable in omitting the first, which could not have been done without loss, and exposing her Subjects to a visible inconvenience, if not a total ruin.

Yet this is manifest in the Histories on both sides, that the Queen did by way of Mediation, long endeavour for a milder Governing of his *Dutch* Subjects (of whose oppression both Heaven and Earth are witnesses) before

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before a Sword was drawn in their defence. And for the Treasure Taken at Sea, and at first owned, but as borrowed, it was not more than the Faith of *England* might have been a sufficient security for, without being made the subject of a War. Nor did the Catholick King remain long in a condition able to distress the Affairs of *England*, his power being diverted through a male contented party that stood up for Religion in the *Netherlands*, at first fomented by *France*, and after more cordially assisted by our Queen; who delighted more from her first Assumption to Power in raising broils, and making her self an Arbitrator of others differences, than in any Quarrel contracted of her own: by which she did not only keep her self in plight at home, by sparing Money (harder parted with by the *English* than blood) but gained so much Reputation abroad, as no publick or private indeavours of his Holiness could stop other Nations (already scandalized at his base and unworthy Jugling in the Council) from confirming or making new or streighter Leagues with *England* than formerly they had done, looking upon her Defection as a precedent they might one day be forced to follow, in case the Court of *Rome* continued still her Contumacy towards Princes: And therefore likelier to meet her with comfort and assistance, than any force to oppose her. From whence his Holiness was necessitated, in Vindication of his Honour, to imploy the Jesuits, his own Emissaries, by Artifice, Poison, or the Knife to bring about that his Sword was not able to execute; so as the Peace of her Kingdom was at first more interrupted through privy Conspiracies than open force: which according to the Guise of all unsuccessful Treasons turned to the disadvantage of themselves and their Party; the poor, Catholicks, against whom nothing in Relation to the generality remains upon due proof sufficient to justify the severity of the Laws daily enacted and put in Execution against them; wherewith they were ground in pieces between  
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the Popes Obstinacy, and a Jealousie these practices bred in their natural Prince; by whom they were without question prosecuted rather out of fear than malice: which his Holiness at length perceiving, did offer what he before denyed, *which was to confirm her Title, and ratifie the use of the Common Prayer*, with the most of what the Parliament had confirmed upon her; provided she would receive them as favours from the *Ap- postolical See*. But after this his too late Compliance had cast him into their condition that have unadvisedly outstood the Market, he in no shallower Malice than despair, cast not only the person of the Queen, but the whole Nation under a bottomless Interdict, which was thundred out at *Rome*, and hung like a Squib by one *Felton* upon the Bishop of *London's* Gate, where after the execution of the party that did it, all other malignancy ceased, but what fell upon his own Creatures, who till then were not forbidden to communicate (in publick Service) with the Church of *England*, and so harder to be discovered, than since this open Rupture. Nor was the Queen of *Scots* (whose Tragical History is to be found every where written at large) more obliged to her Catholick Father, through whose encouragement she was tempted to assume the Title and Arms of *England* very unseasonably during her Husband's sickness, and before her own Kingdom was settled, or any considerable force manifested, in her favour; It not pleasing *France* it self (of whose King she was after the Relict) to see all *Britanny* united under one Crown: and from whence dropped so much of the venom of Jealousie into the hearts of *Elizabeth* and her Council, as no means was left unsought likely to distress her, especially by the Puritan Party, whose safety lay in her Destruction, and who shunned no undecency carrying any probability of being instrumental in her remove; forgetting that the persons of Princes have been thought by all wise men too sacred to have any hand or Justice appear in their death, but

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God's. Now as these studied always to destroy her, so there was as considerable a Faction in the *English* Court that desired her preservation, the cause not only that held her long captive (many wishing her restraint that abhorred her execution) but deterred all who had either Estate or Honour to lose, from attempting in their own person, or conniving at any other likely to be so wicked as to make her away: though our Queen may be found in many of her Letters intimating so much to such as kept her, who were so wise as not to understand what was meant, else they might have fallen into the fortune of *Davison*, who unadvisedly venturing between the honour and safety of his Prince, was ground to nothing betwixt the fury of one party and shame of the other: Thus because no body either would or durst do it alone, the reproach was intailed upon the whole Nation, by the Apparition of a mimical and counterfeit Justice: Reason of State in such nice Points as these being so contrary to that in the Schools, as it is most safe and honourable when it hath the least Authority to vouch it. And if the Actors of this Tragedy had not found more security from the long Reign of *Elizabeth*, than the applause they had from *Scotland* was able to have afforded them upon the next Change, I believe so many of their race had not sat in the House of Lords. Nor was the Amorous rather than Traiterous blood of the Duke of *Norfolk*, spilt on the Scaffold for her sake, more consonant to Justice or the affections of her Subjects, though quietly endured, as a number of other particulars which happened in her time, that were not able to make Answer or give a perfect Account, some to Justice, others to Discretion. This proves that the common People are like Rivers which do seldom grow so impetuous as to transcend the Banks of Obedience, but upon the overflowing of an epidemical and illegal Oppression.

5. Not to wade any farther in this, the greatest blur I find objected to her Honour, or prudence of those

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assisted at the Helm, whose miscarriage lay more in the ceremony than substance of the thing, no less grateful to the present Affairs of the Protestants in *Scotland* than *England*: it being the Policy of those times, as I believe it ought to be of these, to render Alliance no less acceptable to Friends, than terrible to Enemies through a seasonable supply of Men and Mony, before delay (the betrayer of all Confederations) hath rendered Affairs desperate: not omitted by her, who by Sea and Land made it her constant practice to annoy the *Spaniards* through the conduct of those Sons of *Neptune*, *Drake*, *Furbusher*, *Cavendish*, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, &c. and in that successful first expedition to *Cales* under the Command of *Essex* (a man of a contexture not only suitable to a Camp, but grateful to Ladies) by which the *Catholick King* was so unexpectedly alarmed, as *Cardinal d' Ossat* owns it for the most universal Opinion, that the whole Nation or a great part of it might have been gained, had he prosecuted his immediate Fortune to the extent of their Fears; a Number of the *Moris* Race desiring in that Juncture to change their Master for one more Christian, though less *Catholick*, and under whom no *Inquisition* was exercised. This made his coming back so soon, thought as miraculous as his success, by those that were Strangers to his Commission, which he exceeded upon the Temptation of a present Terrour his landing caused in the Inhabitants, who in a confidence of their Castles had removed none of their Goods, which rendred the booty so far considerable as few returned empty handed, and many by their future living made Demonstration of so great an Abundance, that he gained so much Love on all sides as his Enemies durst not Impute to him for a Fault, any Direction he had transgressed, in being too Prodigal in exposing himself and the Army to danger; though his abusing that Article of making Knights so apparent, had produced this Libel;

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*A Gentleman of Wales,  
With a Knight at Cales,  
And a Lord of the North Countrie,  
A Yeoman of Kent  
Upon a rack't Rent  
Will buy them out all three.*

This happy success did not only estate him in the affections of the Militia and those addicted to the Service of *Mars*, but put a no less high esteem on his Councils and Endeavours, than it abated the price of his opposers, the most of whom belonged to the side Robe (not seldom at odds in War, but ever at enmity with Souldiers during peace) who grew jealous that this spark, worn already in the same place of the Queens affections, from whence *Leicester* that terrestrial *Lucifer* was cast for abusing his Sovereigns favour to Pride and Murder, might through the Queens mediation or his own Arts one day gain the Crown, to the prejudice of their interest, who had already vowed the uttermost of their endeavours to the *Scottish* Title, of whom he had this advantage, that whereas *Leicester* was hated by the people for the death of many, and amongst the rest of the Earl of *Essex* his Father in *Ireland*, this abounded in their Love, no less than in the favour of his Prince, in whose heart his person had made as deep an impression, as his Valour and affable Nature had won upon her Subjects.

6. That she fomented Divisions abroad I hinted before; and now I must tell you she was not wanting in her endeavours to maintain Factions at home, by which she attained to the knowledge of all things that happened: so as no suit or design passed the Royal Assent, before she understood as much of reason as Enemies or Friends could bring for or against it; hearing the judgments of all, to her very Ladies and ordinary Servants: nor did this Freedom of communication betray her future

future resolutions to discovery ; for through a seeming unconstancy, or, as others will have it, one more natural, she did so often vary, as it was not easie to discover where or when she would conclude her buzzing, and give the blow : by which unsteady carriage she so befooled the Spyes and Pensioners of foreign Princes, as they were at a loss, what to inform their Patrons of, or themselves, how to resolve : The cause of the *Spanish Armado* in eighty eight, an attempt held ridiculous by the *Flemings* and all acquainted with our Seas, and only brought about through the over-confidence his Holiness had in a Catholick party, which he assured himself would appear upon the approach of a Navy stiled by him invincible. Here may be noted that counsels grounded upon foreign advice or any thing but a visible experience, do rarely succeed ; for Interest in such as desire a change doth not seldom make them apprehend more advantages than really there are, and cover doubts and dangers they are privy to, out of a fear to dishearten the Prince they endeavour to imbarke in their defence ; as it fell out here, where not one man appeared in favour of the *Spaniard*, the very Papists themselves being no less unwilling than the rest to see their native Country in subjection to the ordinary cruelty found in Strangers.

7. But to be sure the former mentioned art of dissembling with others had stamped such a deep impression upon the Queens own nature and passions, as she fixed upon nothing with precipitation : The distrust she had of all sides obliging her to the Justice of equal Hearings, which few in Sovereignty will be at the trouble to afford : And from hence grew the infinite indulgence that appeared so long in favour of *Essex* ; who becoming wanton from his late Success, though after moderated by some less happy, he grew into such Heats and Insolencies towards any his Jealousie had marked for Enemies, that the Queen, to keep even the Scales between him and those of the *Cecilian*

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*Party*, not only forbore to pamper him with new Favours, but did not seldom frown upon him ; though he had so true a Friend of her Affection, that upon the least semblance of Submission and Promise of return to a better Temper, it did mediate for him : *Love like a Bone, becoming more strong by breaches* ; he being certain upon every Reconciliation to receive from her double the Value of that her Anger had cost him ; till these frequent Repetitions of his Faults and her Forgiveness had swelled him into such a Confidence of his own Mediation, that he looked upon all as Enemies, that in their Words or Actions acknowledged not his Friendship, or, which was very ordinary in Respect of his profuse Liberality, did not wear some Badge of his Favour. And amongst a number of these Sir *Francis Bacon* was one, who in an Apology he printed to vindicate his Fame from the Imputation of Ingratitude to *Essex*, confesseth him far richer in Obligations than Payments ; the fate of all that set too high a value upon Friends purchased by any other Coyn than what bears the Impress of an Interest depending upon a future Hope, *It being the Policy of Courtiers, if not the Nature of Love, to conclude where it begins, which is for the most part in Expectation.* Now because the Generality of such as desired his Ruin might think that the Favour his Mistress shewed him proceeded from a nearer Familiarity than I have been informed it did, by such as reported her apter both in her self and others to kindle the Flames of Love, than quench them, They placed *Blunt*, a gallant Gentleman, and of an Honourable Extraction, in the Ball of her Eye, hoping by his application to draw from her Heart the Affection they thought Mortal to them and their Designs : but the whole Result concluding in a Duel, did rather inflame than abate the former account she made of him ; The opinion of a Champion being more splendid (in the weak and Romantick sense of Women, that admit of nothing fit to be made the Object of a Quarrel but them-

themselves) and far above that of a Captain or General: So as Sir *Edmund Cary*, brother to the Lord *Hunsden*, then Chamberlain and near Kinsman to the Queen (from whose mouth I have most of this) told me, that though she chid them both, nothing pleased her better than a conceit she had, that her beauty (of which her flatterers had bred in her a higher esteem than an impartial ear or eye can think due from others report or her own Pictures) was the Subject of this quarrel; when God knows it grew from the stock of honour of which then they were very tender, and some mean expressions *Essex* used of *Blunt*, about his being employed in *Ireland*, and not her amorous Careless, which Age and in a manner an universal Distribution of them had by this time rendred tedious, if not loathsome, intimated in a modest Expression uttering in my hearing by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, none of her least respected Servants, who upon some Discourse of the Duke of *Buckingham*, said to this purpose; *That Mitions were not so happy as vulgar judgments thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely, and sometimes unnatural Employments.*

8. But his Enemies finding all Complaints made to his disadvantage, though true, neglected, or hung upon the File amongst such as she resolved at her better leasure to enquire into the Proofs of; And remaining as obstinate in a resolution to destroy him as she did yet appear in his preservation; did indeavour, as a last refuge, to actuate his Destruction by accumulating upon him such high Favours and Honours as they observed most suitable to his Humour, and Fortunes of the Sword-men, through whose Counsels they found him the most easie to be led, and amongst whom many were placed near his Person by themselves; And from these they received upon all Emergencies advice of his Carriage: It faring with him as it doth ordinarily betide honest and generous Natures, that Perish oftner through Confidence, than distrust: Nor could any other

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ther means have removed this Court *Leviathan* (too deeply struck with the harping Irons of Malice) from the Ocean of favour he lay in, but so ample a Commission as might give his Ambition full power and room to expatiate in, by which he was most likely to be tugged a ground; Not wise enough to apprehend many things he found inserted in his Patent, as *Liberty to Pardon or Punish the Irish Rebels futable to his own will; and Power to reward with Lands or Honours all he esteemed worthy*, were such Flowers of the Crown as his Enemies (to the disadvantage of whose Friends he might imploy them) could not in reason but have found cause to oppose, had they been picked out for any milder design, than to deck a Garland for that Head they meant to sacrifice to their malice or revenge. But this being acted (though long before studied) amongst the last Scenes of her Tragedy, I shall defer the Conclusion till some other time, endeavouring here (according to my weak fancy, prompted only by Report) to draw a prospect of her Court: where, all her Reign, Majesty and Thrift did strive for preheminance without incroaching upon any Confine either of Baseness or Prodigality. Nor can this be wondred at by such as know the power she derived from Law or Custom to be furnished with all Provisions at a set Price, By which a heavy Imposition was cut off, found by experience to load Greatness, *seldom admitted to a cheap Market*: Sellers recompensing their want of Honour, by the Excise they put on such as own it. And because this was Arbitrary at the will of the Green Cloth (a Court only intending Provision and Carriages) The Purveyors upon whom lay the execution, and so by consequence the envy, were, if guilty, at the mercy of every Accuser, being not seldom hang'd or put in the Pillory upon the discovery sometimes of small abuses: Her Government appearing so full of Policy, as she was rarely found to interpose the power of the Crown in her own cause: Who by turning her face

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towards the sins, and countenancing the punishment of such Harpies, did besides stop the future Current of their Corruption; Through which she became not only better serv'd, but gained an opinion of Justice, and Mercy towards her people: it being the Male Administration, more than badness of any Office, I ever knew during her Reign or her Successours, legally corrected, that raised murmuring in the people, the ill-boding voice of Sedition: which if heard, is not to be neglected, but like the Sea stopped by the banks of Justice: for if it once grows Epidemical, all endeavours do rather enflame than moderate it, as thought to proceed more from necessity than love.

9. And here I think it not impertinent to insert a Story as it was related by an Eye-witness. A Purveyor having abused the County of *Kent*, upon her removal to *Greenwich* (whither she often resorted, being all have heard the first Air she breathed: and therefore most likely to agree with her) a Countryman watching the time she went to walk, which was commonly early, and being wise enough to take his time when she stood unbent and quiet from the ordinary occasions she was taken up with, placing himself within the reach of her ear, did after the fashion of his coat, cry aloud, *which is the Queen?* whereupon, as her manner was, she turned about towards him, and he continuing still his question, she herself answered, *I am your Queen*, *what would'st thou have with me?* you, replied the Fellow, *are one of the rarest Women I ever saw, and can eat more than my Daughter Madge, who is thought the properest Lass in our Parish, though short of you, but that Queen Elizabeth I look for, devours so many of my Hens, Ducks, and Capons, as I am not able to live.* The Queen, no less auspicious to all futes made through the mediation of her comely shape, of which she held a high esteem, after her Looking Glasses (long laid by before her death) might have confuted her in any good opinion of her Face, then malignant to all Oppression above her own

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inquired who was Purveyor, and as the story went, suffered him to be hang'd: after a special Order for his Tryal, according to a Statute formerly made to prevent abuses in this kind.

10. This Princess, in imitation of her Father *Henry the Eighth* did admit none about her for Pensioners, Privy Chamber-men, Squires of the Body, Carvers, Cop-bearers, Sewers, &c. (that were not a few in number) but persons of stature, strength and birth, refusing to own her Consent (demanded before any could be admitted to the meanest place in her house,) because he wanted a Tooth; yet was never known to desert any for Age or other infirmity after once inrolled, but either continued them, or, upon their discharge, gave them considerable and well paid Pensions. As for the Guards, Ushers, Porters, and all attending below Stairs, they were of a no less extraordinary size, than activity for Shooting, throwing the Bar, Weight, Wrestling, &c. So that such as came hither from beyond the Seas upon Embassie or curiosity (who calculate the strength, wisdom and honour of a Nation by the Apparitions they behold at Court) had no other cause but to report at their return, That though a Feminine Constellation governed the Fate of *England*, yet there remained little hope to any Foreign Malignity of operating with success; because her designs were begotten under *Mercury*, and brought forth by the assistance of *Mars* in case of opposition: She owning Soldiers no less able to act, than Counsellors to advise; In whose choice (for the most part) Wisdom was solely looked upon, not putting by Sufficiency though accompanied with a mean Birth, and Crooked Person, as it chanced in a Father and Son of the *Cecils*, both incomparable for Prudence. It being sometimes necessary to make wise Men Noble, where Noblemen are too lazy and addicted to pleasure, to endeavour to be wise.

11. It is the highest step of advantage a Prince can meet with, To have for Council about him, persons whose fortunes are of the same piece with his own. The consideration of which may abate the wonder *Queen Elizabeth* prospered so well at the beginning, when incumbred both within and without by such difficulties, or how she came to out-reach (before scarce able to stand upon her own legs) so exact a Master in King-craft, as the *Spaniard*. I confess her being a woman did render the delay of Marriage more suitable to his patience and her honour, than otherwise it could have been; But the dexterous management of this advantage must be attributed to the great wit of her Juncto, amongst whom her greatest Confidents were of the *Augustin* Confession, and therefore unlikely to continue in favour, if in being, after such a Conjunction, as *Philip* the Second desired. Nor could distance of place, the deluder of eyes, hinder the inspection of that Prince, who having commanded in *England* some years under the right of *Mary*, could not but in probability hear all that was to be known. And if we may guess at the Queen's carriage in this, by her proceedings in the two Treaties of Marriage after with *France*, we may presume she did purchase this delay (if not buy off the discovery of some Infirmary) with the Articles of her Opinion contrary to those of *Rome*, and to which, as appears by an Old Letter, the Catholick King was not at that time averse. Though upon her deluding him, to avoid such a Schism in the lower *Germany* as had happened in the upper, he did indeavour to introduce the Inquisition: Fortune having rendred him so indulgent from the beginning to the Queens preservation, that he Sold the Low Countries, the only place able to purchase her Peace, a bargain (as I have heard from the Earl of *Leicester*, the last *English* Man Governor of *Flushing*) fomented by those that Treated this Match for her Majesty: Which found, Pope *Pius* dated out the former mentioned Excommunication, till then



then restrained through the mediation of *Philip*. I shall not determine whether it was Godly zeal or Worldly interest that prompted their Judgments to these accurate Counsels, since I find both in some part gratified by future success: Though I see cause enough in the latter to imploy all the Brains, both of the Protestants and Papists in power about her; the one owning their lives to her well being, and the other Abby Lands to the continuance of it: For though Sir *John Parsons* told me he had seen a Bull amongst Mr. *Shelden's* Antiquities, by which the Pope confirmed the Lands of the Church in the hands of their present possessours, provided they in their respects continued under his Obedience, yet whether this might be safely trusted to, I leave in suspence, and to their consideration that may remember they were fifty years ago valued much below other Titles and Demeans.

12. The cause, It may be thought Interest as much as Love in her Privy Council that till *Leicester's* days, none are found to have received Pensions from foreign Princes, or to play booty or deal Treacherously in his Employments either at home or abroad: nor were honourable and gainful Offices during her abode at the Helm given to Men of no larger capacities than were merely requisite to the execution of the place; But bestowed upon such publick Spirits as were able to advise in the most crabbed affairs, by which the charge of their support was born and the Common-weal served with Men under a double Capacity. Now though we must yeild to *Solomon*, that safety is to be found in a multitude of Counsellors; Yet Secresie is commonly absent in all Assemblies, but where a few resolve: for which and perfect Intelligence from abroad (the light and director of the bark of Prudence) if any Age before, I am sure none since can be compared with the days of *Burleigh* and *Walsingham* in this particular; whose steps Archbishop *Bancroft* followed so close, as by fomenting a difference between the Jesuits and Regulars, he made

a breach in their Unity, the strongest Argument they have to support the Papacy; And illuminated by so clear a Judgment, did through their clashing make so perfect an inspection into the secular practices of the Consistory in *Rome*, as he prevented many dangers might have other-ways fallen upon the Nation: For which *Blackwel*, the then Popish Metropolitan, lay under some suspicion from the contrary Faction, how justly I know not. Yet have heard, that no Priest was landed any time in *England* but the Bishop had a perfect Character of his temper and relations; The easier brought about by him that (in the estimation of the *Puritans*) owned most of the Tenets, being beside no rigid persecuter of any who had not in his composition the gall of Treason mixed with Religion: The Regulars being then in an high esteem, because their opposers the Jesuits were about that time banished *France*, and their Cells demolished, with a Pyramid erected to their infamy, for an indeavour to Assassinate *Henry* the Fourth. And from this Indulgence of the Arch Bishop grew more security than danger, because such Priests as were connived at (the most of other Orders) looked upon the Jesuits as Enemies, and all new Comers of their own under a no milder Aspect than intruders on their profit; And therefore the more inquisitive after their Conditions, and if found Pragmatical, it was no hard matter to purchase their remove by the Mediation of one so near the Helm as the Bishop was, who besides the quality of Secresie remaining so constant to his promise, as it was more safety than danger for them to rely upon his word. And that some cunning Seminaries did endeavour the monopolizing amongst themselves all the profit to be made by the *English* Catholicks, I have a presumption of mine own from a Priest I met with on the other side the Water, who told me he lived far better during the Tyranny (as he was pleased to call it) of *Queen Elizabeth*, than since the Licence afforded under King

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King James, by which divers young Scholars of both the Universities were daily tempted into Orders, and many (restrained before out of love to their safety) did now go over in shoals, to the great detriment of the old standers. Yet notwithstanding the incomparable diligence of this Prelate, under two Princes, for the preservation of Peace and Unity, He was abominated by the Preciser sort, the heat of whose zeal appears the more unnatural, because their mouths were furred with bitter and unfavoury Invectives, which followed him after the hand of Death had laid him out of the reach of all other favour but what is due to his desert from Charity and Gratitude; Therefore to be strongly presumed the worst malice could invent. And inserted by me, according to the Mode of an Historian, whose Plough (for the sake of Posterity) I wish I were able to drive; However I am no ways correspondent for the praise or blame due to any Verses found here, such as these,

*Here lies My Lord's Grace at six and at seven;  
And, if I do not lie, His Soul is in Heaven:*

*I wish with my heart it may be to his seeking.  
Since all the World knows it was never his seeking.*

Another.

*Bancroft was for Plays,  
Lean Lent, and Holy-days,  
But now under-goes their Doom:*

*Had English Ladies store,  
Yet kept open a Back-door  
To let in the strumpet of Rome.*

I confess I have heard him Charactered for a *Jovial* Doctor, but very Jealous of the Clergies Revenue, no



less than his Countries safety, which he endeavoured to bring about through a reduction of *Britanny* into one Form of Worship, by the train of *Calvin* most rigidly opposed: But the two contrary Factions at Court (one of them thinking all things fit to be destroyed, the other laboured to preserve) did, upon the vacancy of every Bishoprick, put one in suitable to their Humours that had the luck to prevail: The cause the present Incumbent did, like the Web of *Penelope* unravel what his Predecessor had with more policy and charity twisted: By which means the Dioceses of *Canterbury* and *York* were at one and the same time of contrary Judgments. And the best of Clergymen (driven into a medium by the scorching heat of the one side, and chill indifferency of the other) lost their Labour and all hope of preferment in a vain indeavour for a Reconciliation, impossible to be brought about, the one party being fomented by Hypocrisie to bear out their Ignorance, and the other from Power and a fear of reverting into the primitive Austerity: which held so long in this unconstant Vicissitude, till what was continued meerly out of Policy at Court, did in a short time branch forth in City and Country into divers popular differences, suitable to the mold of every head, and the interest of such persons as had the subtilty to fit them to their occasions: *Zeal like Lead, being as ready to drop into Bullets, as to mingle with a Composition fit for Medicine.* So as in those days it was impossible for men in Power, but to be scandalous to one side or other.

13. Dispatches from the Council Table (of which I have seen Volumes) began and held on throughout in a plain and the same Stile, not seldom admitting of several Constructions, if of any interpretation at all where the business related to a thing whose consequence could not easily be seen into; as appears at the beginning of all Treaties; and especially in the two offers of Marriage with *France*, which the Queen managed with such dexterity and secrecie, that wife *Walsingham*

(as appears by his Letters) through whose hands the whole business passed, did not know certainly whether she was real or no: But in what was thought proper for Transaction, all things were plain drawn in Latine: This put together did much facilitate the Office of her Secretaries.

14. Now as Wisdom and Secresie appeared in her Council Chamber, so Hospitality, Charity and Splendor, were dilated over the whole Court; where, upon the least acquaintance, all Strangers from the Noblemen to the Peasant, were invited to one Table or other (of which she kept abundance, wherever she removed from one standing house to another, unless she returned to *White-Hall* at night) the least considerable suiting with three, four, or five hundred pounds *per annum* expense; And for Bread, Beer, and Wine, (commonly called by the name of Budge) though the Purveyors that brought it in, were called to strict Accounts, such as issued them out were rarely questioned, but in case they sold it: And by this Generosity the ordinary sort of people were so endeared, as I have known some brag of their entertainment at Court twenty years after; such like Dogs seldom biting those that have once fed them, Though with the same meat they have been at the pains to catch themselves; It coming all out of the Countrymans Barns or Yards, The Wine being little when Custom was abated.

15. Yet though she was thus plentifully provided of all things at home, she did not seldom fetch an Entertainment at such Grandees Houses as were understood to be most popular: By which she removed her Subjects eyes from intending wholly the influence of these inferiour Stars, and fixed them upon a greater Splendor of her own: besides her out-doing them in the Art of Popularity, acting to the life the Pageant of the People (which all Princes really are, and the wisest the most Gaudy) from whence it is far more indearing to throw Flowers than Wild-fire: And if this her Affability

lity did not work upon the Will, the greatness of their Expende did not fail to render them less able to hurt. And in case this was not sufficient to moderate their ambitious thirst after Popularity, she found them diversions in foreign Employments, whither they were sent as Embassadors or Agents, by which their Estates were less felt, and the Owners rendered the less rampant and unable to maintain their former bewitching Humour of Hospitality; so as in Parliaments they became assertors of the Profit of the Crown, in hope to have such debts refunded as had been contracted by themselves in the service of the State; whose honour she preserved at the lowest expence that ever Prince did, and not freedom at their Charge who might otherwise have employed their Revenues in fomenting Sedition.

16. The Parliament knowing not where to fix upon a Successor to the Crown without the hazard of Religion, or danger of a Civil War; the Regent of *Scotland* having yet no Child, and being too strongly supported from *France* to miscarry under a Title so firmly built as the Catholics maintained hers was to this Nation (if not in present) upon the death of the Queen, did in the first Petition they made, invite her Majesty to take a Husband: In which they minded more their future, than present felicity, not so likely to result from a married as a single Prince, whose expence cannot chuse but swell proportionable to the Offspring produced: And in this they were so moderate as to pass by all mention of a Successor, ever ungrateful to her ears during the whole Series of her Reign, and not seldom fatal to such as were so hardy as to remove it: So as it cost some dearer, and *Pigot* and *Wentworth* their Liberty, though they proposed it in Parliaments. The safety she her self found in the concealing her intent, out-voting the danger of a Civil War, which in all humane reason could not but impend the Nation, in case of her death: For whilst she observed this impartial neutrality, none could pretend cause of complaint.

And



And in case any one had made Ostentation of a Title before the People, she had the rest ready to asperse it; there remaining none free from Objections, the most legitimate in appearance passing for an Alien and so incapable, or an Enemy and so incompetent to govern: It being as impossible to please, as dangerous to oppose the weakest interest of the Papist, Puritan or Protestant. But to this request of her great Council (which she could not hinder, being the desire of the Court as well as the sense of the Parliament) she returned a stout, though but an uncertain Answer, as is legible in the common Chronicles, whose recitals I profess willingly to shun, feeding my Pen rather with such scraps as I have picked out of Letters and Discourse, the Storehouse of Tradition. Not so likely to flatter, if to lye, as the Writings of those mean Contemporaries, that for the most part have embarked their Pens in our English Affairs; who had still some fear or hope at their Elbows ready to jog them towards the interest of the present or future Governors: Confessed by learned Camden himself, whose lines were directed by King James, and he led rather to vindicate the honour and integrity of his Mother, than to do right for a Mistress, that had from a School-master raised him to a capacity of being the first King at Arms.

17. Her Sex did bear out many impertinences in her Words and Actions, as her making *Latine Speeches in the Universities*, and professing her self in publick a Muse, then thought something too Theatrical for a Virgin Prince, but especially in her Treaties relating to Marriage; towards which some thought her incapable by Nature, others too propense, as may be found in the black Relations of the Jesuits, and some *French* and *Spanish Pasquilers*, that pretend to be more learned in the Art of Inspection than wise Henry the Fourth their King, who in a jovial humour told a *Scottish* Marqueess, there were three things inscrutable to intelligence: 1. Whether Maurice then Prince of Orange (who never fought Battle

*Battle, as he said) was valiant in his person. 2. What Religion himself was of. 3. Whether Queen Elizabeth was a Maid or no:* Which may render all reports dubious that come from meaner Men: Yet it may be true that the Ladies of her Bed-Chamber denied to her Body the Ceremony of Searching and Imbalming, due to Dead Monarchs: But that She had a Son bred in the State of *Venice*, and a Daughter I know not where nor when, with other strange Tales that went on her, I neglect to insert, as fitter for a Romance, than to mingle with so much truth and integrity as I profess: In which if I am in any thing mistaken, let it be laid on mine own want of knowledge, or their Ignorance that misled me. This I may safely attest, that the smallest chip of that incomparable Instrument of Honour, Peace and Safety to this now unhappy Nation, would have been then valued by the People of *England* above the loftiest branch in the *Calydonian Grove*. Who as she was the choicest Artist in King-craft that ever handled the Scepter in this Northern Climate, so she went beyond all her Ancestors in adapting to her service the most proper Tools, in whose fittest application she was seldom mistaken; The only cause can be given why she so rarely changed her Secret Counsel, especially those she made privy to any of her last results, which did not weakly contribute to her safety: Such resembling Keys, that once lost or misplaced, no future security remains but in changing the Lock. And though this hath already fallen under my consideration, yet I am forced to resume it again in the Vindication of the choice of some Officers about the middle of her Reign, accused since for weakness; which if not a mistake made by Envy, or for want of an exact understanding of the Parties use; some being placed after the Council grew numerous, only to tell tales and ballance Votes she disliked in publick, without the least understanding of what was thought necessary to succeed in private, a multitude of hands adding dignity to Inland affairs, it be-  
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ing ordinary with the generality to esteem wisdom according to measure rather than weight. And amongst these few can be found out of her Kindred or such Friends as her Fathers Honour or her own Gratitude for kindness shewed during the life of her Sister, kept her from excluding them the Lists, though the stronger heads of others were wholly imployed when her occasions called her to grapple with any difficulties. Nor was there more than the honour and profit of Lord High Admiral intrusted with the Earl of *Nottingham*, but executed by a Commission selected out of the ablest Seamen that Age did afford: he being imployed for his fidelity, known to be impregnable in relation to Corruption: Neither was there a goodlier man for Person in *Europe*, as my eyes did witness though they met not with him before he was turned towards the point of eighty, no youth being more celebrated for gallantry and good fortune than his. I confess that in his Age he Married a young Lady allied to King *James*, which set his Wisdom many degrees back in the repute of the world.

But to discharge this cavil from any farther dispute, No Prince then extant took an exacter estimate of her Subjects abilities to serve her; or made a deeper inspection into their Aptitude Nature and Humours; to which with a rare dexterity she fitted her favours and their Employments. As may be instanced in *Francis Vere*, a Man nobly descended, *Walter Raleigh* exactly qualified, with many others set apart in her Judgment for military services, whose Titles she never raised above Knighthood; saying, when importuned to make *General Vere* a *Baron*, that in his proper Sphere and in her estimation he was above it already; therefore all could be expected from such an addition, would be the entombing of the Spirit of a brave Souldier in the corps of a less slightly Courtier; and by tempting him from his charge, hazard that repute upon a Carpet, his valour had dearly purchased him in the Field. Nor could she



she endure to see her Subjects wear the Titles of a Foreign Prince; the cause she committed Sir *Mathew Arundel* of *Warder* in the *West*, for accepting from the *German Caesar* the Dignity of a Count; and denied Sir *Philip Sidney* the Crown of *Poland*.

18. The example of modesty her Souldiers express in the *Netherlands*, rarely found amongst Auxiliaries, with her refusal to own or impose the name of her *Vassals* upon the *Dutch*, gained her a huge confidence amongst her Neighbours, that her complexion was pure from the contagion of any more destructive Ambition, than the preservation of her Honour and those Nations her Birth no less than Desert had presented her with: which made them unapt to offend her; none but Catholicks, and they for the most part Priests, wishing her remove, as not knowing where to find a Prince less offensive and more debonair; the cause many Treasons concluded in the loss of their Heads that projected them, or sought to put them in execution. Yet in this her Temperament of desire in Relation to Augmentation of Empire, her prudence so minded her of the Nations future safety, as that Friends under persecution, do not seldom face about upon the approach of Security and Power: Wherefore she made sure of *Flushing* and *Brill*; which in regard of situation were so full a Content of their whole strength, as the Application of it could not, upon their miscarriage in Relation to the Catholick King, or their own future Ingratitude, obliterate the advantage that *England* might make of that Revolt, though the money lent covered it in Reason and Justice from much of the envy it might have contracted, had she employed force or fraud in their purchase. Nor did the receiving from the hands of the *French Huguenots*, *Haver de Grace*, (upon a like exigency) signifie more ambition than the reduction of *Calis*; which might have undoubtedly succeeded, had she not according to her usual Custom starved the Design for want of Money and Men; a

fault

fault the more excusable, because it relates to the tender care and respect had of her Subjects Lives and Estates. And here by the way it is worth noting, That the *Hollanders* could not so easily have attained Freedom, but through the help of the Ministers of *Spain*, who by eradicating the ancient Nobility and Gentry reduced them into a Parity, and so by consequence made them capable of Unity, the Nurse of all Combinations.

19. Amongst all her Minions none (according to report) had fairer for the Queens Bride-bed than *Leicester*, who, finding by the continual high beating of her heart, that she should never allow of so great an abatement of Sovereignty as a Match with a Foreign Prince, could not but in Honour have made the Sails of his expectation somewhat swelled therewith, would in her Gaieties (which till the death of *Essex* were very frequent) ask her, 'If she did not think she had some Subject of her own, able (though it must be confessed none worthy) to make an Heir for the Kingdom of *England*? Since her Father was known to do it, yet a Man, and so incapable of any eclipse of Honour by the highest Princes; Neither did his often repeated condescensions in making Subjects his after-wives breed him that danger that he sustained by the first glorious Match (according to expectation) that he made with the Sister of *Charles* the Emperor, which all the Prudence he owned could not unravel without straining the Cords of Government, if not Conscience, by that desperate leap he made out of the Church of *Rome*, and separating himself from the Union of other Princes. Nor did *Philip* the Second prove more happy to your Sister for the present, nor to the future expectation of the Nation that lacked nothing to entail Servitude upon them but an Heir of her Body; which yet had not been wanting, according to report, but supplied by a Cushion, but that the generosity of the *Spaniard*, and  
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' the perswasion of a better Success from your Embraces (which he hopes flattered him with) did for the present make him to detest it: The cause it was after voiced to be a False Conception. All which I have heard often, and read somewhere, though the Author hath escaped my Memory: Nor could *Leicester* render his Bed vacant to a more thriving end (as he rumor'd to have done) than to make room for the greatest and most fortunate Princess the Sun ever looked upon without blushing in relation to Oppression or Blood: This may be allowed upon the Score of probability, that his Lordship would hardly have been so rampant and uncivil without some extraordinary invitation, as to draw a blow in her presence from another Privy Counsellor, more zealous possibly than discreet, to whom when the Queen said, *He had forfeited his hand*; his reply was, *he hoped she would suspend that judgment, till the Traitor had lost his Head, who did better deserve it*: But this accident bordering so near the Confines of her Honour did admit no farther debate; it being no other than she in a less sprightful humour might have given him her self, none being more flexible to all kind of Jollities than the minds of Princes when unbent from publick Affairs. Now whether these *Amorosities* were natural, or meerly poetical and personated, I leave to Conjecture, that may ever find employment in the Actions of Kings. This I am sure of, these gaudy gleams of favour shone not long upon any single person, but were soon eclipsed upon the Apparition of fresh Sparks. And here to conclude any farther discourse of *Leicester*, he was a man of eminency for Person, but branded by his Enemies (of which he had not a few) for a defect in Wisdom or Integrity during his abode in the *Netherlands* where with no good success he executed the place of the Queens General.

20. This Princess used never to precipitate a Retaliation in the reference to Foreign Injuries: by which her Enemies had leisure given them to consider of a

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Reparation, no less than her self of Revenge in case of Contumacy, and time to put her strength in the better Array; Manifest throughout her whole expedition into *Scotland*, where though she had fomented such a Party of the Nobility of that Nation as were able to receive and secure a force of her own, which upon their intercession she sent, yet was it without any Commission to fight or take notice of the Crown of *France*, from whom the *Scotch* Queen was immediately assisted, but only against the House of *Guise* that were merely instrumental in behalf of their Sister *Mary*. Contrary to the most ordinary practice of our less advised Monarchs, who to gratifie the Clamor of a few embarked Merchants, and to vindicate an honour capable of the diminution, but from a Total neglect or visible incapacity of being ever able to right it self, do, like inconsiderate Bees, in a rash and passionate Distemper, by misemploying their Stings (all the natural force they have) render themselves (for the future) weak and contemptible, by an unseasonable demonstration of the worst they can do; which, till experimented, is for the most part imagined greater than in truth it is.

21. Her frequent Calling Parliaments, and not staying till she was compelled, kept them in so moderate a Temper, as they were more awful to the Country than the Court; where some grievances might be connived at, but never approved, so the easier accounted for when called to question: nor do I find her Concession granted to any Statute for her peoples good, by way of exchange, but purely out of grace, and for the most part before it was desired: Wisely projecting, *that when Necessity is the Chapman, the Market doth naturally run low*. Therefore being chaste from all other intrusion upon the Nations Liberty, but what respected common safety and the honour of the Crown; she was able without murmur to commit such of the House of Commons as presumed to meddle or enquire who was

most fit or had the best right to succeed her. Neither was she less tender and jealous of Disputes in Religion, an Apple in the eye of Government, which if once suffered to roll and grow wanton, will render the Peoples minds unsteady betwixt the obedience they owe to God and their Prince: fondly imagining the first may be gratified at the prejudice of the latter. Zeal being the Flint, and Ambition the Steel out of which the Sparks of Rebellion have in our days kindled the most fatal mischiefs; which she kept during her Reign from clashing, by denying the Parliament all farther debate of Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, and shewing them their no less injustice than Levity to question what she had so firmly estated in her person, who was yet resolved to introduce no more than what was lately confirmed by themselves, or their Fathers; so notorious to all, as the Doctrine professed most generally in *England* bore in Foreign Nations the name of *Parliamentary Faith*. Nor was this her prudent restraint looked on with any great reluctance by any but *Carrivants* and some such addle Heads, whose Judgments were trimmed according to the mode of *Amsterdam*; whose distempered passions the Queen made so much advantage, as to keep the Church humble and quiet whilst she gelt their Sees by exchanges, and other diminutions of their power, and Estates, which during her life were not suffered to blaze out in their Ecclesiastical Offices, as since they did: Which is the only visible cause can be given, why so much worth as is confided in this Princess is so little celebrated. And this wheeled about with the less disturbance of the higher Orbs, because few opposers of Church Discipline were in her days eligible, or so much in favour with the People, being for the most part oppressed or indicted of Hypocrisie; the most eminent for *Parliamentary* Titles, or Estates (as it falls out in relation to *Schisms*) growing weary or full satisfied with the profit already gained by the great leap themselves, or the

Ancestors had made from *Rome*: Nor were the poorer  
 fort better apaid when they compared the present  
 Hospitality with that reported of Old before the Reli-  
 gious Houses were demolished, the cause I have not  
 seldom my self heard them wish a return to the Catho-  
 lick Church under the Title of the Old Learning: Nor  
 so well pleased with the saving Doctrine of the Prote-  
 stant profession, as they formerly were under the more  
 liberal distributions of the Monasteries. Nor was it  
 the guise of these prudent times to dissolve Parlia-  
 ments in discontent (by which a quarrel seemed to be  
 picked with the whole Nation) but to adjourn them  
 in Love. Wherefore having to do with the same Men,  
 she was seldom compelled to alter her course; it being  
 impossible that a Prince who had her Peoples affection  
 in gross, should find it wanting in their Representative.  
 And it is no less remarkable, that in so long a Reign  
 she never was forced (as I have heard) to make use of  
 her Negative Power; But had still such a Party in the  
 House of Lords as were able to save her that labour.  
 Neither was she ever terrified by fear, to bestow Of-  
 fice or Honour upon any out of no other reason than to  
 draw them from the contrary party; unless Seminaries,  
 and of this she grew at last weary, saying once in pub-  
 lick, *she would not ransom her self from Enemies at the price*  
*of their Preferments that lov'd her.* But in case she found  
 any likely to interrupt her occasions, she did seasona-  
 bly prevent him by a Chargeable Employment abroad,  
 or putting him upon some Service at home she knew  
 least grateful to the people: contrary to a false Max-  
 im, since practised with far worse success, by such  
 Princes who thought it *better Husbandry to buy off En-*  
*emies, than reward Friends:* which once observed, it  
 tempted some that were ambitious to lay out the stron-  
 gest of their endeavours against their Prince only in  
 hope to be bought off. And for such as desired a far-  
 ther recoil from the Pope than was thought fit to be  
 made, they were not so numerous or well agreed yet,



as to actuate any disturbance, being for the most part poor; and, as all Schismatics do at first, glorying more in Suffering, than in any other opposition but what they are able to raise with their Pens or Tongues, in which they were no less lavish than bold and indiscreet: yet meeting from the most in power only blame and contempt, they sought out new Habitations for themselves and vents for their opinions in *Amsterdam*, where the *Dutch* allowed a general Mart for all Religions (the Papacy excepted) without any nicer limitation than obedience to the Magistrate in things purely Civil: and by this they did not only draw much of our Coyn thither, but our Manufactures of Weaving, Dying, Fulling, Spinning and Dressing of Cloth, Stuff, &c. Easie to have been prevented, by affording them an *Amsterdam* in *England*, some small City of Refuge, over which her Majesty might have set a discreet Governour with a Garrison, whose charge they would willingly have born, besides the payment of a large excise for their folly. Nor was there any danger in this, it being impossible to make them unanimous: But the *Hierarchy* had been so bitten already by the Covetousness of Princes, and the sharp and discerning Learning of the Laity, who uninterested in the general Controversies might have moderated to their disadvantage or set on foot a farther and more rigid Reformation (which, though a terror to those in power, is most delightful to the ears of the People) That they perswaded the Queen, it was *against Prudence and Piety* to give them harbour; yet in the mean time connived at Lectures and weekly Preaching, through which they let in more by the Postern, than they could croud out at the great Gate. Wherefore, this found out, Wisdom should rather have left the attempt in the Hands of Time, the Moderator of all things disputable, than rendered them incorrigible through Opposition, the promoter of Error. I am the larger in this, lest posterity should be to seek for the Foundation of the most Destructive Revolution

volution the Sun ever held Light to, which was begun by Thousands who never intended it, and wrought the ruin of that both sides labour'd to preserve, with an excessive advantage to such as could neither expect or deserve it.

22. Amongst the greatest things laid to her charge, as cast behind the door of neglect, was the conduct of the affairs of *Ireland*; a place lying, all her *Halcyon* days, under so great a contempt, (before *England's* less future felicity had brought it to esteem) that wise *Walsingham* thought it no Treason to wish it Buried in the Sea, considering the charge it brought: yet she kept the Pale in good order, not suffering the *Spanish* Party to grow more potent in the *North*, than convenient to consume his forces and divert him from nearer and more dangerous attempts. It being impossible for her, without appearing grievous to her People (a Rock she chiefly Studied to avoid) at one time to maintain so dreadful a Navy at Sea, and Foment the *Dutch* and *French*, towards whose Assistance she was called by a louder Necessity, than to render a Nation quite desolate; None being willing during her Life to exchange the present Government of a Natural Princess, for the less happy Tyranny of a *Viceroy*; of which the most did study more their respective grandure by extending the War, than the ease of the Inhabitants and lessening the Queens expence: Till the Noble Lord *Mountjoy* was employed, who had no other design than the conclusion of the work, which he had not yet so easily brought about but that the *Spaniards* found themselves betrayed through the covetousness and cowardise of the Natives, that for small Sums would sell not only such Foreigners as came to help them, but their nearest Relations: Wherefore unlikely to keep faith with their Prince, being of so false and unconstant a Nature, as by a continual relapsing into Seditious practices they did with the same breath demand Pardon, and yet panted to accomplish something worthy of Death. Nor was it pos-

sible to reduce them to more Civility (the Inhabitants being of such an amphibious education) but by curing the Boggs and Fastnesses, or building more Castles and Garrisons than she could spare Mony or Men from her other occasions to furnish: But that which raised the greatest difficulty in relation to an absolute subjugation of this Province, was the power the Priests exercised over the Natives Consciences, who not able to resolve themselves, were implicitly led by their perswasions to cast off the *English* Yoke and distress the Queen, who in the *Roman* dialect was stiled Heretick, and in whose favour no compact could be made, much less kept without Mortal Sin in the performer, especially upon the offer of any (though but seeming) advantage. Not was the defection of *Ireland* one of the smallest inconveniences that resulted to this Crown from the Protestant Profession.

23. In this miserable Nation, that wanted not only Wisdom and Virtue to purchase her own Freedom, but a Competency of patience quietly to submit to the *English* Civility, the former mentioned Earl of *Essex* buried his Fortune. For after his more subtil Enemies, prompted by malice and his own destructive Ambition, had placed him so far off, it proved no hard matter (working upon her Majesties Age and Parsimonious humour) to distress him, for want of Coyn and other necessary Provisions for so expensive an expedition which cast him upon disadvantageous Treaties with *Tyrone*, the Capital Rebel, and might occasion the private discourse he had with him alone on Horse-back in the midst of a River: which hinted to the Queen the first cause of that fatal suspicion, *He might through the assistance of the Irish and English Army* (already wholly at his devotion) *attempt some novelty*; a dismal whisper the contrary Faction did hourly inspire her withal: And to give it a deeper Tincture of probability, Sir *Robert Cecil* gained leave of the Queen to advertise *Essex*, first of her being past hope, and after of her Death, stop-  
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ping in the mean time all ships else, but what came loaded with this fatal intelligence: And to secure her Person no less than his own, in case he took the wiser Council of his Friends to land in *Wales* with all the power he could raise, the *English* Militia were put in a posture of defence: of which no use was made; for the Earls Composition having always participated more of Truth and Loyalty to his Sovereign, with more zeal to the Protestant Religion, than prudence or Reason of State, He, not only contrary to the Will of his Friends, but beyond the highest hopes of his Enemies, came over attended with some few Gentlemen; and in this naked Condition finding the report false, he cast himself habited as a Traveller at the feet of his Mistress, whom after he never met (unless since in heaven) being presently confin'd, yet to no stricter Prison than his Chamber, and under no other guard but the obedience he owed to his Sovereigns Commands, who tho' daily importuned, could not be brought to sign a Warrant for any severer Commitment, till after *his passage through the City*; In which he did not only exceed the extent of his own ordinary rashness, but the highest & most extraordinary Plots of his Enemies. And thus was the Earl snatched out of the Arms of his Mistress, and torn from the hearts of the people that were his Servants, by the subtilty of his Enemies, and in the sight of both brought to an untimely death: it appearing no less wonder that Prince and Subject did meet in their affections, than that they should both be so quiet Spectators of his ruin. But as God shew'd in his death the weakness of the arm of flesh, so not long after he declared as plainly the power of his Justice in a strict Account he took from those that were the principal Agents in it: For after the blow given, the Queen, presaging by a multitude of tears shed for him, the great drought was likely to appear in the eyes of her Subjects, when the hand that signed the Warrant for it should be cut off, fell into a deep Melancholy, whereof she died not long after.

And for the Fame that immediately followed her (if multitudes were not foully mistaken) she was more beholding to her Successors miscarriages in the general opinion, than any popular esteem attending her to the Grave: her death being reported to proceed from an occasion that would have been thought ridiculous in an ordinary Lady, much more in a person of her magnitude: But such as take Princes for other than Men, shew they never saw them in true light: who, like the Gods of the Heathen, cannot in their Actions or Speeches during Life be discerned from ordinary Mortals but by the Worship given them; being so remote from owning any real Divinity, as with the Crown they put on greater frailties than they do divest: For during the critical minute of the Queens strongest affection (which was upon *Essex* his return from *Cales*) he had importuned her for some signal token, which might assure him, that in his absence (to which his own Genius, no less than the respect he bare to the promotion of her honour, and obedience to her Commands, did daily prompt him) his Enemies (of whom he had many about the Chair of State) should not through their Malice or Subtilty distress him, or render him less or worse deserving in her esteem: upon this, in a great deal of familiarity, she presented a Ring to him; which after she had by Oath indued with a power of freeing him from any danger or distress his future miscarriage, her Anger, or Enemies Malice could cast him into, she gave it him, with a promise, that at the first sight of it all this and more if possible should be granted. After his Commitment to the Tower he sent this Jewel to Her Majesty, by the then Countess of *Nottingham*, whom Sir *Robert Cecil* kept from delivering it: This made the Queen think her self scorned, a Treason against her Honour, and therefore not unlikely to be voted by the Pride of so great a Lady more Capital than that pretended against her Person, which power doth rarely suffer to scape unpunished: besides he had been tempted

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tempted through passion to say, or his Enemies to devise, *That she now doated, and owned a mind no less crooked than her Body*; A high blasphemy against such a divine Beauty, as Flatterers, the Idolizers of Princes, had enshrined her in. And from these his misfortunes, led on by the weakness of Jealousie and Age had bred in her, his Maligners took advantage, so as his Head was off before discretion, love or pity had leasure to dictate. *The Ring might be miscarried and the former Relation false.* But the Lady Nottingham coming to her death bed, and finding, by the daily sorrow the Queen expressed for the loss of *Essex*, her self a principal agent in his destruction, could not be at rest till she had discovered all, and humbly implored mercy from God and forgiveness from her earthly Sovereign: who did not only refuse to give it, but having shook her as she lay in her Bed, sent her accompanied with most fearful Curses to a higher Tribunal. Not long after the Queens weakness did appear mortal, hastened by the wishes of many, that could not in reason expect pardon for a fault they found she had so severely punished in her self, as to *take comfort in nothing after.* But upon all occasions of signing Pardons would upbraid the movers for them with the hasty Anticipation of that brave Man's end, not to be expiated in relation to the Nations loss by any future endeavour, much less so unseasonable an uncharitableness to a dying Lady.

24. After *Essex* was thus laid by, the Total management of state Affairs, fell to Sir *Robert Cecil* in right of Wisdom, who free from Competition became bold enough to inform the Queen, that *too many years had been already lapsed, and the peoples quiet hazarded by her delay, in not fixing upon one certain Successour: Nothing remaining wanting, but her Concession, to free the Nation from a Civil War, in declaring the King of Scots her lawful Heir, who besides an immediate right, had the greatest power at hand to quell the hopes of all contrary Pretenders, at that time more than a few; having long been imboldened either*  
through



through her Majesties Indulgence or Prudence, an Artifice dangerous for her people, and not unpossibly now destructive to her self, the love of whom was by good Government for forty years, so deeply rooted in her Subjects, as it could be buried in nothing but her grave. Nor did he alone beat hear ears with these sounds, no less terrible to her Age at that day, than they had been formerly ungrateful to her youth, but the generality of all about her; there remaining after *Essex* remove, no Faction at Court able to rescue any from the present or future revenge of this Man, with whom the most did comply for fear of having their hopes blasted by this Northern Sun that began to rise proportionable to the declension of the Queens health. The truth of which the most incredulous may find throughout the whole Arraignment of *Cobham*, *Gray* and *Raleigh*, professed Antagonists to *Essex*, under whose shelter they might have been protected in relation to their cause, though by them imprudently managed. This proves it no great hyperbole to affirm, the Queen did not only bury Affection, but her Power in the Tomb of *Essex*, who having the Love of the People would execute without fear any Command, which they wanting durst not undertake: The cause *Cecil* thought it more prudence to rely upon the promise of a Prince his Father had made Motherless, than in the forgiveness of a multitude whose odium he had by many proceedings contracted; But especially in being instrumental in the Death of *Essex*, and those hopeful young Gentlemen that lost their Lives and Fortunes with him: Amongst whom was Sir *Henry Lee*, for only wishing well to the three Earls in the Tower, and another executed in *Smithfield* for writing the News of their Apprehension to his Father that was out of *London*. But not to exceed the design of this piece which was not to asperse any, especially one allied so nearly to my Grand-Mother, and a Family now rendered Illustrious by two Earldoms and a number of glorious Matches; I shall relate only his wise endeavour

deavour to make *James* succeed, by whom he was courted with many Letters, and larger promises than, as I have heard, were ever performed, and other proposals made, amongst which was a Treaty of Peace with *Spain*, passionately desired of the *Scottish* King, who by this grateful Service thought to muzzle the Mouths of the Jesuits, and to have his offers of Connivance more secretly and successfully presented at *Rome*: And upon the same score, *Tyrone's* Pardon was moved to the Queen, and though at first refused by her with high disdain, yet after brought about for want of strength and Counsel to oppose it. Nor was an Inquisition after the Will of *Henry* the 8th. omitted, which a *Curfear* did about that time justify he had inrolled, though then not to be found, having before been taken off the File by some as small Friends to the *Scottish* Title as any other but their own; *Hartfords, Huntingtons, &c.* being then rise in every Man's discourse. But to avoid all semblance of triumph over a Right already under the weight of the severest misfortune: I shall conclude with the most happy condition this unparallel'd Princess left the Kingdom of England in.

25. It had no considerable Enemy besides the Catholic King: And his power so maimed by the frequent blows received from her Maritime Militia, that he sought Peace in a posture far below the usual Pride and Rhodomontado-Gallantry of that Nation; apparent in the rich Donatives bestowed on all about King *James* who were any way likely to farther or obstruct it. As for the wild *Irish* (a term that Age bestowed on the Rebels) they were daily found dead in Bogs and Woods with Grass in their Mouths, giving no farther trouble to the English Souldiers (at her Death not numerous, many having quitted the imployment out of grief for their General) than to burn and spoil the Corn and other Provisions of the Natives; far easier done, than they overtaken in their Fastnesses and Bogs, impassable to our Army. The *French* were by Obligation wound

wound up at least to a neutrality, if not in Policy bound to assist us in case the War had gone on with *Spain*: *Henry the Fourth's* former Defection, though covered with a late formal Conversion, having yet not so strongly estated him in the affection of *Rome* as to make him dispise the English Alliance or exchange it for any in judgment less remote from the Pope: or in case of his death or forgetfulness she had the *Hugonots* to Friend, who in all walled Towns prayed for her in publick, owning her for little less than their Princess under the Title of a Protectress. Though the *Dutch* were no less hers by Interest than Gratitude, yet lest prosperity should in a resty Humour strain these Cords, her hands were strengthened by Cautionary Towns, which did not only bridle them, but abate much of the danger our Merchants were in from those remaining under the Crown of *Spain*; Not so much recruited about this time by the reduction of *Ostend* after three years siege, as weakened by the former loss of *Sluce* in a far less considerable time. As for *Denmark*, *Sueden* and other Nations that ordinary Calculation hath seated East of us, she held good correspondence with them, but lay obnoxious to no other inconveniences from them, than what she sustained by the Frost, Snow and tedious Weather the Vicinity of their Icy Coasts useth to infest more happy Climates withal.

26. Nor can she appear less Lovely, wise and Successful at home, to any that is able to fix his eyes upon so great a Radiancy as did compass the Head of this Princess, without the dark Veil of prejudice, not hitherto drawn from before the Face of this Nation by the visible indeavours of many. Comparisons being apt to raise no less Odium at home than envy abroad. For through the Series of her Reign, she kept Parliaments, the pulse of this Nation, in such a Temper as no signs appeared either of Anarchy or Tyrannical Oppression; her Government having been handed to the people with that sweetness, that it was esteemed of no less

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less advantage to them, than their obedience brought Honour to her: under whom the Crown remained in such Credit, as the Exchequer was esteemed equal security with the Exchange; The Tellers of that Court being as ready to issue out Moneys, as those that had Debentures were willing to receive it. And if any contrary practice since brings the truth of this into suspense, let the Proverb *As sure as Check* bail me from the least suspicion of Hyperbole. Her Lands, of which she had a vast proportion, were loaden with Timber fit for all employments, lying ready upon occasion either to raise a Navy or Money to pay Souldiers or Mariners. Nor was her Treasury quite empty, or the Crown burdened with any considerable Debts, but what a Parliament would without murmur have refunded; No cause of Jealousie remaining in relation to an incroachment upon their Liberty or Estates, since she did not extend to the least general prejudice her own unquestioned interest in the perquisites of the Crown; So as her Parks, Forests and Chases were rather a relief than burthen to the Subject, it being then as rare to find a Man of quality denied Venison, as to hear of one (if not too intemperate) punished for stealing it. And as the Justice in Eyre was moderate in his Courts that related only to the preservation of Game; So those in *Westminster-Hall* were as careful to distribute Equity and Right: Or, if in her time some Cushions in Chancery, Chequer and Court of Wards were taken with the Moth of Corruption, it was after her Inspection failed her, for want of a contrary Faction truly to inform, and no propensity in her Nature to protect such courses. The ordinary Plea used after, *of selling Dear because they bought so*, being void the most of her days; in which no visible Bribes for Offices were offered or accepted but what resulted from favour or desert. The Church in her days lay not disfigured in the filth of Profaneness, nor was it dawbed by the varnish of Hypocrisie: Ceremony and Sabbath (the ordinary

nary pretences for Sedition) being decently not rigidly commanded or observed. So as the wall-eyed blanchers at them were followed more out of reproach than approbation; And might have been so still, had not the State rendered them more considerable by their notice, than really they were: fondly imagining the Hatred found in succeeding Parliaments to the Papists resulted from a Puritanical affection; when it was for a long time in the most a fear of shaking the Titles of Abby Lands, or a desire to free the Laity, in all things temporal and mutable, out of the hands of the Church; who about the setting of this glorious Planet became something more red and severe, than suited with a Calling no better supported: For though zeal in the Clergy may Byass men towards Religious Duties, yet it hath often been found so much to alter the Gate of the Rabble, as they have quite forsaken the end of all Professions which is obedience to God and their Governours; And inclined to more uncouth and destructive Opinions, than an open and unsuborned Temper in Religion was ever yet found guilty of.

27. Thus I may have in part expiated for the neglect, if not Malice observable from the most Relations concerning this Lady; No less than vindicated my own Gratitude, (Whose Grand-Father and Father did both injoy a quiet, happy and plentiful Fortune under her) though in a stile and method far below her merit, as best appears by the Bonfires and loud Acclamations used still by the people upon the day of her Inauguration. The felicity of which was never since matched, nor have we had yet any cause to hope it will be, especially during my Life, which began under this beloved Princess.

Traditi-



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Traditional  
MEMOIRS  
ON THE  
REIGN  
OF  
King James.

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TO THE  
READER.

**S**ince Age, though something Early, hath now overtaken me, anticipated through a number of Infirmities and no fewer discontents, it is not probable I should go long unserved by that Fatal Supœna we all are liable to, through our Fathers Concupiscence, Nolefs than a Reciprocal Necessity to leave Elbow-room for our own; wherefore at present compelled by usual, yet far less grateful Diversions, to put a Stop upon the following Discourse (which though defective and imperfect may not unpossibly be owned for mine, by such as are well acquainted with the Stile) I take my self obliged out of that tender respect, all naturally carry towards a fair Repute, (which will perhaps prove the argument of a time may happen many ages after mine is spent) not to suffer it to come into the World Speechless; which I look upon as none of the least misfortunes, however it may be reckoned amongst the most Innocent, The Tongue supplying the same place in Man, a Sting is found to do in a Serpent. Nor is it likely any thing so general as this, should scape wounding by such Dart, which renders all endeavours to frame it a sufficient Passport not only difficult, but merely impossible: being quite divested of the patched Coat of Antiquity (it not bearing so much as the facing of any others Custom but my own) no less than the janglings of Novelties relating to Faith; whose Apparitions and Sounds are only able to raise up the Prick eared attentions of these Times, that neither regard the middle aged Philosophers, nor ancient

## To the Reader.

ent Prophets, farther than they are (like Blind horses) able to bring Grist to their own Mills: by whom Tradition is held and persecuted for a Vagabond; Though the Bible it self, that hath hung so long at their Girdles, as it is become an assistant to the Sword, had for some Centuries no better covering than this Ark; into which the generality do now not only profanely keep, but proclaim the retention of it, an occasion of all the Scabs and Emrods that do at this day, & have long before, invested the Nation. Though deducible out of History and Experience, that Unity was more pliant to the bond of Peace, and the Priests more steady in their Chairs, and not so apt to fall into Schisms, and break their own necks, together with their Governors, before Tradition was taken Captive, and Hypocrisie had blinded the Strength of, &c. who though they did at first grind the motly colours of such as employed them, they became in a short time cunning enough to display their own. Now if nothing might be registred of wicked, effeminate and ill consulted Princes, but things plausible and tending to the fame of the dead, one of the chief reins of terrour and restraint would be quite let loose to those alive; the impartial Grave affording no more protection to their dust, than the righteous Judge doth convenience to their Sins. From whence it may be concluded unless necessary (by reason of the greater and more general advantage accruing to the world from such a splendid example) to dissect and make inspection into the defects of a dead King, or ruins of a tattered State, than for a Physician to anatomize a body whose life was through evil and extravagant courses forfeited to the Law: by both which honest Men may come to be cured, and Commonwealths better governed. I confess a huge blame is due to such as manage their pens no less impertinently than clowns do their knives and hatchets, with which in lieu of other employment, or for pure want of discourse, they deface and whittle the sacred graves and unquestioned fame of great persons, upon no solidier an account than to fill Volumes, though they relate to no more use but what the Narrative contains, without pointing either to Imitation or Admonition, the Bulworks of Government; towards



## To the Reader.

the advancement of which nothing can be so precious, as may not in Manners or Decency be imployed; whether relating to Fame or Infamy of Dead Princes; The omission of which would not only obstruct all the Readers Benefit and delight deducible merely from truth and variety, but remove out of the Sphere of Majesty, hope, fear and shame of what may be censured of them after this Life (all the reward and punishment the most think themselves capable of) by which they would be left only to the boundless and unsteady prosecution of chance, or the guidance of their own Wills, not unlikely to prove as destructive to them and their Issue, as burdensome to their People; It being the Duty of an Historian, not only to better the present Understanding, but to open a Window into the future, by drawing the fairest Landskip, and making the widest and farthest prospect into times past, his skill will give him leave; In which perhaps more Art may be shewn in discovering the Ditches, Boggs and Bushes, than the more lofty Mountains and Trees. And now, having so far as is necessary vindicated Tradition (the free School of Princes) where Moderation may be learn'd from those that have fallen under a Popular fury, and patience inculcated to all Subjects by the dear Effects of Civil War, and the example of many that have cast off one Tyranny and fallen into a worse, not seldom their Portion, who hunt after change, I shall farther add, and that no Sound requires a more docile ear, nor an exacter attention, than that proceeding from the Trumpet of Fame; the jarrings of which, like other wind instruments, are not so discernable at any distance, as nearer hand; wherefore it creates admiration in me, to find out what the Composition of their Humours may be, That impute it not only for a blemish to the Writer, but an undecent intrusion into the Readers Harvest, To insert his own judgment, or the most probable Opinions of the Age wherein the Scenes of his Story were acted: Yet are heard daily to bewail the want of a more perfect knowledge of the cause why Sejanus fell from so great a height of felicity into so deep an Abyss of Misery, with other like mutilations observable in the Records of History, not capable of recovery by posterity; an Omission not likely to result

## To the Reader.

from any other neglect, than what the commonness of that knowledge did at the time of their writing breed in the Historians: whose industry can as hardly prove so impertinent to future Ages (for whose sake chiefly it is employed) as it may appear perhaps ingrateful to the present, where every one carries a Chronicle in his Mouth, or at least so much as may raise a Flood of Contradiction strong enough for the time to immerge the greatest and exactest inquisition after the most useful and exemplary Truth: Since, though the Diseases in Bodies Politick, are ordinarily recorded as to matter of Fact, yet to set down the manner of their Cure, and strengthen it with such a defensive plaister, as may for the future prevent falling into the like, will not be thought unworthy the Labour of the Historian, and without which the Politician shall be little edified; who cannot pretend to a higher Title than that of an Emperic, if he hath not been Conversant (as the Pretenders by their places to Reason of State are most commonly found) with other Experiments than may be deduced out of the Stories of Antiquity, wherein all Transactions (but what passed between Greece and Rome) had still one end of the Treaty supported by a People stiled Barbarous. Nor is it to be wondred at, that the Ancients should exceed the Modern in repute, though short in goodness; since the best Construction is put upon their Ambiguities, and their faults mended, and imputed not to the Author but Transcribers: whereas Contemporaries receive all rigor, few vouchsafing to mend the errors of the Press; And if any Interpretation be worse than other, he is sure to have it. Wherefore in case I dye before this be finished, if Posterity finds no Reason to wish it otherwise, I am sure the Composer shall not.

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THE  
PRINCIPAL HEADS  
Of the following  
MEMOIRS  
On the Reign of  
KING JAMES.

1. **K**ing James the occasion of his Son's Ruin.
2. The English disgust the Multitude of Scots following him. How it might have been prevented.
3. How he stood affected at the News of Queen Elizabeth's Death, and his Proclaiming by the Mayor of London, who were most earnest for his Reception, and who propounded it might be with Caution.
4. A Peace made with Spain,—of what consequence to that Crown——
5. —By what Gifts procured, and——The Kings Council suborn'd.
6. The Lord's Cobham, Gray, and Sir Walter Raleigh indicted of Treasons. The miserable Death of the First.
7. Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World: His Guiana Voyage, his Trial, Condemnation, Execution and Character.
8. Truce made between Spain and the Dutch; The inconveniencies thereof to that Republick, King James's Writings and Employment,
9. His



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12. *Miracles relating of Garnet ——— his Execution; with the rest of the Conspirators.*
13. *The Discovery, reported as occasion'd by the Lord Morley (Cecil's Artifice.)*
14. ——— *came from the French King. The Spanish fluttering Congratulation. King James's Pusillanimity and ill Practices; their Effects. Rome despair of regaining England.*
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16. *The Papists indulg'd and Puritans (unadvisedly) prosecuted. The Conference at Hampton Court; It's inconveniences. By what steps the Puritans got up, and the old Clergy degenerated.*
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24. ——— *His gallant Mother the Countess of Pembroke's resentment. Her Picture and Epitaph.*
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## Traditional Memorials

ON THE

REIGN

OF

KING JAMES.

THE Misfortunes of King *Charles*, Son to King *James*, with the uncouth, dismal and unexpressible Calamities that happened thereupon, appear yet so great a Sacrifice in the Opinions of all interested by loss, or suborned by that natural propensity inherent in the most to expunge or palliate the Lapses of unhappy Princes (whose Indulgence is not seldom so diffusive as to expiate for the Faults of those standing in a far remoter Relation than that of a Father) that they have hitherto stopped my Pen from making any farther Progress this way; till, led on by a Zeal to Truth, and illuminated from the brighter Judgments of others, I found not only the imprudent Commissions, but voluntary Omissions of King *James* so much instrumental in the promotion of our present evils, as it may justly be said, He, like *Adam*,

*dam*, by bringing the Crown into so great a Necessity through a profuse prodigality, became the original of his Son's Fall: who was in a manner compell'd to stretch out his hands towards such gatherings and Taxes, which are contrary to Law: by which he fell from the Paradise of a Prince, to wit, The Hearts of his People.

For tho' the best Politicians extant might miscarry in their calculations of a Civil War immediately to follow upon the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, in vindication of the number of Titles and Opinions then current: Yet the beggarly Rabble attending his Majesty not only at his first coming out of *Scotland*, but through his whole Reign (like a fluent spring) found still Crossing the River of *Tweed*, did so far justify the former conjecture, as it was only thought mistaken in relation to time. The dreadful Symptoms of that War presaged, still impending *England*, and the nearer approach manifested in the Discontent that appeared in all places and amongst every Society, to the very Court it self, in whose Opinion no less than the generality, his too palpable partiality towards his Country-men rendered him no higher place than of a King-in-Law, not a Prince of any natural Affections to the People of this Nation. So as his more wise and innocent Successor was cast upon this unhappy Choice, either to hazard the Fidelity of his *Scotch* Subjects, by Obstructing their Bounty; or that of the English, at whose cost alone it could be continued. All which might easily have been at first prevented (and perhaps no less to the King's Advantage than the Peoples) had the same caution the Parliament exacted from *Philip* of *Spain*, been taken from *James* of *Scotland*; a Nation no less distant from the English in Nature and Affection.

3. In the prosecution of which, or any thing else relating to this King, I shall avoid all unnecessary Severity, and observe more Duty and Respect, than may possibly be thought due, by Posterity, to the Person of a Prince, that (after so exact a Pattern as Queen *Elizabeth*

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(Elizabeth left him) did, by debauching Parliaments, and breaking his Word, so far irritate, no less than impoverish the Subject, as his Son was forced to give Concession to one rendred indissolvable but by their own Will: A Mischief could never have befallen *England*, had King *James* left them in the same temper he found them at the death of the Queen. The News of which was brought him first (as I have heard) by *Cary*, after Lord *Lepington*, and since Earl of *Monmouth*; Who not able to satisfy such a concourse of doubts and questions, as far more resolute natures than his do daily muster upon less Occasions, The King stood as in a Maze, being more affected, through the fear of Opposition, than pleased with the present Report; till by a later Post he was advertised of his being joyfully Proclaimed in *London* by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and of the unquestioned reception his Title in all places met with; no less than that the Hopes of some, and Fears of the major part, assisted by the prudent carriage of the Treasurer, and ranting Protestations of the Earl of *Northumberland* (that in all places vapoured he would bring him in by the Sword) had stopped their mouths that desired (in regard of the known Feud between the Nations) he might be obliged to Articles: And amongst these noble and publick Spirits was Sir *John Fortescue*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Lord *Cobham*, &c. All frowned upon after by the King, who had yet the luck to live so long as to change his Opinion, and (when he found he neither durst do it himself, nor consent to it in Parliament) to wish his Countrymens numbers had been limited, and not suffered like locusts to devour this Kingdom, from whence they became so rich and insolent, as nothing with any moderation could either be given or denied them; the Result of an Omission no blood could expiate, but that of the greatest Victim ever sacrificed since Christ in so ignoble a way.



4. He held his Thoughts so intent upon Ease and Pleasure, that to avoid all Interruption likely to impede any part of the Felicity he had possessed his Imagination with from the union of these Crowns, And to fit an Example for his Neighbours imagination, whom he desired to bring into the like Resolution; he cast himself as it were blind-fold into a Peace with Spain, far more destructive to *England* than a War: For it hath not only found that Prince an opportunity to recover his Strength (much abated by the Queens most happy Successes at Sea) But gave him a fair Advantage to establish himself in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and quiet the distempers of his own People, that were, ever since the expulsion of the *Moors* (to whom a major part of the Subjects, together with their Language, is undoubtedly allied) much perplexed at the Cruelty of the Inquisition, and so upon all opportunities ready to call them back from the *Barbary* shore: Which could not have been so happily accomplished, but during so still a Peace as the new Reconciliation of the *French* King with the Pope, and pusillanimous Temper of King *James* did at that present afford him, and without which it had not been uneasie for a far weaker Neighbour to have tormented him in the bowels of his own Estate, by the least fomentation they could have used.

5. And as this Peace was of infinite consequence to the Spaniard, so he spared for no cost to procure it: And to prevent the inserting any Article that might obstruct his Recourse to, or from the *Indies* (the Magazine of strife) either on this side or beyond the Line (thought by the English Commissioners not included, however the contrary was after pretended, and no farther disputed by King *James* than with Patience and a quiet Submission of his Subjects to their sense, not rarely punishing such as transgress, at their coming home) he presented all, both Scottish and English with Gifts, and those no small ones; for by that the Earl of

*Northamp.*

*Northampton*, Brother to *Suffolk*, had, he was alone able to raise and finish the goodly Pile he built in the Strand, which yet remains a Monument of his, &c. Nor are there a few others, no less brave Houses fresh in my Memory, that had their Foundations, if not their Walls and Roofs, plaistered with the same Mortar; though out of my Will to name, who had rather be condemned by Posterity, than expose my self to the mercy of the Age I have the fortune to live in, by making my Pen over-familiar with my Thoughts; since afterwards may better spare the knowledge of many things, than we reveal them; only this I shall add as no improbable Conjecture made by many in those days: That his Catholick Majesty was so frightened by the Apprehension of a Possibility that our King, according to the Nature no less than the Obligation of his Country, might fall into a Conjunction with *France*, That he would scarce at that time have denied him any thing, to the half of his *Indies*. And from hence all Princes may calculate the vast Difference that lies between a Counsel suborned, and one free from Corruption.

6. At his Assumption to the Throne, the Lord *Gray*, Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* (professed Enemies to the late Earl of *Essex*, and no weak Instruments in his Destruction) fell into a Treason of a like depth with his; and so improbable to hurt others, or benefit themselves, That if ever Folly was capable of the title, or Pity due to Innocence, theirs might claim so large share, As not possible to be too severely condemned, or slightly enough punished. Yet as shallow as it was, the Lord *Gray* could never wade through it, but dyed in the Tower; Though *Cobham* did, but to such a liberty as only afforded him the choice of a place to starve in, all his Land being formerly confiscated and begg'd; So as my self heard *William Earl of Pembroke* relate with much regret towards him (though in his life his opposer, in exasperating the old Queen against him

him in relation to a Juvenile lapse, for which he was by her committed to the Fleet) That he dyed in a room ascended by a Ladder, at a poor Womans house in the *Minories*, formerly his Landress, rather of hunger, than any more Natural disease. Thus miserable was his Fate, in meeting with a Prince so inconsiderately profuse to Strangers, that he forgot the Owner, not leaving him where-withal to buy Bread; an impiety not found amongst Infidels, who ever deemed it less injustice to take away life, than the means to maintain it, Which may one day inspire a Parliament with so much wisdom, as to abate the Rigor of the Law in relation to the Posterity of Criminals, who are in this particular dealt withal contrary to the Decree of God and Nature, who saith, *the Person offending shall only dye*, and no Punishment descend to the innocent Children: found the occasion of much mischief, especially to men of honour and estates, by affording a wide and legal Pretence for Malice and Tyranny to expatiate in; manifested in that prodigious Parliament; and might have been easily redressed, had not their frequent Purgations left them no other Humor but what related to continuance and self-interest, contrary to the nature of that Court, which ought not to be perpetual; who in the Decollation of Monarchy, cut off all the hope of bettering the miserable Condition of the English Subject.

7. As for *Raleigh*, none ever imploy'd Inlargment worse, that knew so well how to advantage himself and his Country in Imprisonment, for during his tedious-Lying in the Tower (under the jealousy rather than Justice of King *James*, who did so far participate of the humour of a Pusillanimous Prince, as to pardon any sooner than those injured by himself) He was delivered of that *Minerva*, *the History of the old World*: which Travel of his Brain proved more successful, than that of his Body, to discover a new one, in that unhappy Voyage to *Guinea*, in which his Son with a number



ber of other Gentlemen were lost and undone, and he exposed to the Spanish Cruelty, who about that time begun to dazle the weaker eyes of King *James*, with the contemplation of a Match, between our Prince and that King's Sister, to whom Sir *Walter* had rendred himself suspected, no less than he had formerly disoblighd the Treasurer *Cecil*, by obstructing, to the farthest extent of his Power, a Peace, through his mediation propounded in the very shutting in of Queen *Elizabeth's* days: which was not only the Cause of his Arraignment long before and carried on so fiercely by Attorney *Cook* and other dependers on the Treasurer, at *Winchester*, but of the order upon this occasion sent, tho' long after, to *Gondamor* the Spanish Agent, vigorously to demand the Head of *Raleigh* for an Assault made by him on his Master's *Indies*: A Head of more weight to our Court (especially in that dearth of wisdom then raging) than the *Infanta* could be, notwithstanding the most general no less than the least suspected reports made her alone owner (tho' small in Stature) of the greatest Beauty, Virtue, Gallantry and Prudence that were at that day extant in womankind. But as the Foolish Idolaters were wont to Sacrifice the choicest of their Children to the Devil, the common Enemy of Humanity; so our King gave up this incomparable jewel to the will of this Monster in Ambition, under the pretence of a superannuated Transgression; Contrary to the opinion of the most honest sort of Gownmen, who maintained that His Majesties Pardon lay inclusively in the Commission he gave him upon his setting out to Sea: It being incongruous, that he who remained under the notion of one Dead in Law, should as a General dispose of the Lives of others, not being himself Master of his own: But the Spanish Faction then Absolute at Court, and sole managers of the King's Power, no less than his Justice, did so far tender His Catholick Majesty's full satisfaction in the procuring his Death, the only Man of Note left Alive that had helped to Beat them in the

the Year 1588. that no absurdity lying in the way of his Prosecution could deter them from making use of his former Condemnation : Remembring withal how far his Wit had Puzzled them at *Winchester*, That tho' his Judges were willing enough to destroy him there, yet they did rather tire him out of his Life, by the Bawling of the King's Counsel on one side, and the Benches Insisting upon a Confession Extorted from the Lord *Cobham* out of fear, (who being in the same Condemnation could but make a Circumstance, no Creature else Averring it) than convince him : some of his Jury being after he was Cast, so far touched in Conscience, as to demand of him Pardon on their Knees ; which made it the less probable they should be able to Impanel one so Wicked as would do it then. Besides, no Peace beyond the Line was a belief so Riveted in the Opinions of all, as he could not have been Indicted anew, without the King's producing of the Original Article, by which his Accusers would have been convinced of Malice, or his Prince of Folly. He was Captain of the Guard to Queen *Elizabeth*, Warden of the *Cinque Ports*, first discoverer of that new Plantation which in honour of his Mistress he named *Virginia*. But above all, of so incomparable a dexterity in his Judgment, as the Treasurer, (who had already, by an universal compliance with the King and his Country-men, purchased the Monopoly of his Favour) grew jealous of his excellent parts, lest he should supplant him. And this was the first cause of his bringing to that Trial, from whence *Gondamor* and our Espaniolized English took this last advantage to cut off his Head : which *Edward Wimark* the *Paul's* walker wished upon Sir *Robert Nanton's* Shoulders, one of the Secretaries of State, who conscious of the need he had of such good parts, consented him for it, but without any better success than making himself ridiculous ; yet had he or his Master owned so much understanding as witty *Wimark* meant that made the wish, we should not have found such cause

cause to complain now of his Sons evil Council; left him by descent from King *James*, that gave this fatal blow, not possibly then to be seconded by such another, made so much the heavier because procured at the suit of an Enemy.

His Death was by him managed with so high and Religious a resolution, as if a *Roman* had Acted a Christianity, or rather a Christian a *Roman*: So as amongst the number that contributed to the destruction of the Earl of *Essex*, none but he died Pityed. Which King *James* finding, he according to the Mode of weak and ill-consulted Princes, set forth in Print a Declaration, which according to the ordinary success of such Apologies, rendered the condition of that proceeding worse in the worlds opinion: It begins thus,

*Though I take my self bound to give no other account of my Actions but to God; yet, &c.*

8. By His Majesty's example, no less than persuasions, the States of the United Provinces (not knowing to which side this new Prince would propend) were induced to a Truce with *Spain* for twelve years. Who before, and since most successfully resisted that King in defence of Liberty; A felicity due to man by birth-right, and incapable of forfeiture but to the Wrath of God, that doth not seldom convert it into Tyranny, after a general declension into licence and Oppression, Through which Senators grow so Rich as they are tempted to Ambition: Though few besides them have had the dexterity to gain their Freedom, or skill to keep it when Fortune did fairly present them with it; yet ordinarily exercised in all Corporations: Men in Government resembling Horses, that are far less Ranting, and easier brought to an even Temper, being link'd together in a Team, than single in a Chariot, as over tickled with the Trappings of Pride and Honour: Therefore more unanimous in War than Peace; unlikely then, as now, to produce to the *Netherlands* any greater advantage than a Confession of a



Right, theirs before in Possession, By Treating them in an equal degree of Honour with other Princes and Free States. For in this Truce was hatched the Conspiracy of *Bernavelt*, the Faction of the *Arminians*, and so many other evil Humors Contracted, as have given them ever since a full Employment to correct and evaporate. The Contexture of this kind of Government being so delicate and Mathematical, That, as it is least capable of error, so if one chance to creep in (as possibly may by too long indulging of a Family) it doth hazard, if not unravel the whole Web. To conclude, they are not in my experience or reading parallel'd, by any People besides themselves in This, To become rich by a defensive War: The *Swiss*, though owners of brave Actions, are yet so far their Punies in the learning of trade, That whilst the one out of plenty is able to hire assistance of their Neighbours, The other out of meer Necessity are become the Cudgels with which the rest of the World do upon all Occasions beat one another. All which considered might raise an Use of Instruction to *England*, not unfurnished with as good Mariners, No less than one of Example to *Venice*: Who might, if she looked within and without, find People enough to make them, were they cured of the Trembling of the Heart, a Disease perhaps incident to all Republicks not founded in Arms. But in a venerable Reverence to the Ghosts of *Lipsius*, Sir *Henry Savil*, *Strada*, and other bold Authors, that arraign *Tacitus* for his Digressions no less than *Stile*; who have, no doubt, raised so numerous an Issue to their Judgments as may hereafter sacrifice these Leaves to a like Censure; I shall return to King *James*, who had far worse Books (said, and no doubt truly, to be of his writing) as intemperately on the other side praised by Flatterers; which elated his imagination to so high an Esteem of his Wisdom, that he out of an impertinent Emulation was thought to affect Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the less, because of the great repute that follow'd him

for his excellent Pen : so as after much Scorn cast upon it, being modestly demanded, what Fault he found, he answered as one surpris'd, *That he spake irreverently of King Henry the Eighth* : Which could not be the natural Cause, though first in his Apprehension, since none ever exclaimed more against that Prince, than usually he did. But however, this is very notorious, that he dedicated rainy weather to his Standish, and fair to his Hounds, or any thing else that owned the Voice of Pleasure ; which was through the whole Series : of his Government more acceptable, than any profit or conveniency might accrue to his People.

9. At his first coming he was long detained from *Westminster* by a Plague, looked upon as the greatest, which exceeded in that which broke out after his Death ; Taken by the ill boding English for a presage of worse days than they had already seen : the good Government of Queen *Elizabeth* not being in probability likely to bear the Charges (without falling into some destructive Commotion) of two such expensive Princes in Succession, without having any more popular to Intervene.

10. After the Peace, of too near concernment to his Catholick Majesty to afford him leasure to Imagine, much less to insert so Rugged an Article as the performance of any Promise our King had made before his Reception, in Case the Papists did not Oppose, (which have found Registered by many, and so high as Amounted to a Toleration at least) he observed in Prudence it could not be conceded by this new King, however he stood affected in his desires, having so many of his Subjects Protestants, for one of the *Roman* Protestants : And being besides, no more zealous than other Princes, that make use of Religion only for a Fence to secure their Persons and Prerogative, but esteem it a dangerous Accident where Reason of State drives on a Barrier without it ; He left the Poor Catholicks in the Field of the Scottish Cruelty, who did daily Beg,

Sell or Exchange such as preferred Conscience before unreasonable Compositions, remaining Obstinate in their Recusancy, which, in this excessive Extremity some either were so far Indulged by others, or themselves, as to take their Estates off from this *Scotch* Hook, did about this time go to Church. Whilst King *James* stood so Amazed at his Present Felicity, that the Fleecing his Subjects did seem to concern him no more, than it doth the love-sick Bridegroom to lose all his Gloves, Ribbands, Garters and Points to the very single one that keeps all from, &c. For though the frequent Petitions of these plundered People, no less than the Recommendations of Ministers of foreign States, might for the present incline his Heart (which in its own Nature was not cruel) to Commiseration: Yet upon a lively Representation of that Northern Poppit-play, whose Scenes they lay in the Church of *Rome*, pretending the least Candor used to these *Cananites* would call his Mothers Sins to a new Remembrance, and so conjure up the Spirit of Rebellion, against which there can be no apter Sacrifice than the Retainers to that Committy, which beautifies the Vestries of *Scotland*, &c. in the shape of a Beast, &c. which once heard interpreted by a curtailed Divine, he either durst not or would not abate this Rigor, but rather increased their Despair by daily Threats of worse, and Invectives owned as written by himself, which though some might consider as too Theatrical to be real, yet others not so well vers'd in his Majesties Royal Craft, and having possibly besides been swallowed by one of these Harpies, that like Cormorants will retain the Prey 'till their Throats be cut, may be excused in part, if finding their Hopes deluded they fell into Despair, especially hearing the uncessant Cry made by the Commons in the House of Parliament for a fresh Supply of Laws against Recusants, and all that lay but under the least Notion of a Popish Affection; which was a Latitude some extended as far as Prelacy,

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others bounded it very little on this side Anabaptism: Though they saw them daily thrown into a Den of Scotchmen, which the Court did already so naturally resemble, as nothing made penal by Law either in Church or Common-wealth, but was by the King granted to his Country-men, and by them exacted to the uttermost Farthing. Many in the mean time venting their Spleen (capable of better employment) in Libels and Songs of one of which I remember two lines at this time, and may do more hereafter.

*In Scotland he was born and bred,  
And though a Beggar, must be fed.*

This made the Papists look about them, not a little terrified to see the King turn his Quill (the sharpest weapon he handled throughout his whole Reign) against the Pope. And though they had fairer Cards at that time to shew for their Opinions (by reason of the Bishops and more politick Clergy, who began now to find no Head so likely to support them, as one naturally issuing out of their own Body, being in this single Condition, like no longer to subsist, than found necessary to the temporal Power) than they were able to draw during the Days of the Queen: Yet they wanted Patience to attend their better Fortune, which no time since the dissolution of the Abbies (King *James* holding, *No Bishop, no King*, for as real an Article in the Mystery of Monarchy, as they did *No Ceremony, no Bishop*, in that of the Hierarchy) was more likely to have brought about, had they not manifested such foul Play, as an endeavour to blow up the Houses of Parliament, a Treason of so bloody an intendment, that it almost appears a Fiction to us that saw it, though two of the Heads of the Conspirators, *Catesby* and *Percy* (if not since removed, and others set in their places, as I have been told) remain still on the House of Lords to witness it; some Priests having disavowed any such thing

in Print beyond Sea, where I my self was asked the same Question: And such as want impudence to deny it, do yet only acknowledge it for the single attempt of some few discontented spirits, rendred desperate through the heavy affliction they then lay under: All their hopes being lost in the neglects of the Kings of *Spain* and *England*. The first remaining as careless of his Faith, as the other did of the performance of his Word, though *Garnet* their Arch priest was one, and about that time Prayers and Fasts appointed to be used by those Romishly affected throughout this whole Realm.

II. I never met two of a like conceit, concerning any effect or extent this powder might have reached, had it not failed of success: Since one did confine it (who pretended to have been assisting at the springing of divers Mines) to the Circle it lay in, and no farther than to the shaking of the contiguous buildings: whereas the Judgments of others no less experienced, delivered at least the whole Isle to the fury of it: But the Lord *Wilmot* did in my mind offer the most probable Conjecture (who had seen a like quantity of Powder fired upon a Wharf in *Dublin*) that by reason of the weight and straightness of the Vault which would have given it all leisure to kindle, it could not but have wrought dire effects upon the City it self: Since the other did no less, though it had no narrower Arch to restrain it than that of Heaven. This I am sure of, that it had overwhelmed Church and State; a Conspiracy dragged out of Hell, nay worse than the Devil himself, for he seeks to preserve his own; whereas this passed by few of the same Profession, many known Papists then sitting in the House of Lords, besides other private ones, that were mingled amongst the Commons. Happy for us that may safely guess at the consequence, and are by special mercy of Almighty God removed from the Danger: It having been very unlucky for our Family to escape, since at that very time my Father maintained

tained Mr. *Thomas Brightman* under his Roof. Yet let me justify the Charity of these Underminers so far, as to say they only intended in their Calculation the Destruction of the House of Lords, unless Report was found more Charitable than they.

12. Here, as in most Conspiracies of like composition, the former mentioned Priest was a principal Ingredient; of whom, after his death, they reported Wonders, as that the perfect Effigies of his Face remained in the Straw used to dry up the Blood on the Scaffold; but all the Miracle I could observe was the prodigiousness of the Attempt, who have had some of those Straws in my hands, yet could observe no more than by imposing upon my Imagination (first prompted through others Report) I found, as may be in all Straws else, the Resemblance of a Beard, and something fancy was at that time apt to cast into the mold of a Face, being formerly suborned by the general Opinion: Yet these no doubt are sold, and pass at this Day for Reliques, as I know they did 20 Years after, and he for a holy Saint. From whence we may judge at the Original, no less than validity of divers at this day current amongst us; such false Coin being in some judgments absolved from all tincture of Corruption due to deceit, by the Profit and Reverence they procure to Commerce: As if God had so poorly provided for his Honour, as to want the weak supporters of Falshood and Credulity; since what he could say in excuse of Treason (which he professed always to abhor) was, that it came to his Knowledge under the Seal of Confession. He was executed at the *West Gate* of *Saint Paul's*, having the favour only to hang till he was dead; the rest being used too cruelly, as may be thought by all that remove their eyes never so little from the merit of the Cause.

13. The Discovery appeared no less admirable than the Treason, to such as took the printed Report for Authentick, *That a Letter was sent to the Lord Morley,*



and from him to his Majesty; &c. a neat device of the Treasurer's to fetch him in, to whose estate or person, if not both, he had a quarrel. He being very plentiful in such Plots, writing a Book a little after, wherein to magnifie his zeal to Religion, and the State, he published a Libel where they threaten to kill him, with a well penned Answer; both thought to smell of the same Ink. All which he did to recover the love of the People, forfeited by the hate he expressed to their Darling *Essex*, and the desire he had to render Justice and Prerogative Arbitrary. But he that follows this track too far may possibly fall into the snare of Power.

14. I never found any signal favour or respect given from the Court to the Lord *Morley*, which renders their conjuncture the more probable who did report as from the *French* Ambassadour then resident, that the first intimation of the Powder Treason came from his Master, who received it from the Jesuits of his Faction, to the end he might share in our ruins; the Kingdom of *England* being in the Pope's own Judgment too great an addition to that of *Spain*, where though it was first coined (some say during the days of *Queen Elizabeth*) yet the Priests that undertook the promoting it, sought to render it the most beneficial they could to their respective Patrons. And here I cannot omit that after this happy Discovery, his Catholick Majesty sent an Agent on purpose to Congratulate King *James* his great preservation. A flattery so palpable, as the Pope could not refrain laughing in the face of Cardinal *D'Osset* when he first told it him; nor he forbear to Inform his King of it, as may be found in his Printed Letters: It being Notorious that at King *James* his first Assumption to the Throne of *England*, none sought his Destruction more cordially than the *Spaniard*; 'till a continued tract of Experience had fully acquainted him with his Temper, and the impossibility of perswading him to form any League with *France*, or other Christian Princes against him. Nor was our King himself

himself backward in fomenting this Innocent Opinion amongst his Neighbours, but did as soon as he could possibly by neglecting the Royal Ships, and casting contempt upon all formerly in Military Imployment (the Wings, Nails, and Teeth of the Nation) testifie to the World he meant to spoil no People of their Honour, Lands, Felicity, Goods, or Laws, but those, all Princes Celebrated for Wisdom and Gallantry think themselves tied in Nature to preserve: By which he intailed Misery upon his Succession, and without the more Mercy of God Eternal slavery too, &c. For by penning up the English Valour, and opening the Fountains of Honour, with a succession of neglect cast upon the Nobility and Commons in their Representatives, by denying them their reasonable demands, or deluding them after his Royal assent given, by going contrary to what was enacted; these practices put him upon such low shifts, that he at last having rendred himself incapable of trust, did descend to have the Mony given by the Parliament, deposited in the hands of Commissioners; out of which he did notwithstanding after force it, according as his impertinent expences demanded supplies. Nor was he more steady in his compacts with Foreign Princes; who in a small time became so well acquainted, with his Complexion, that his promise did not Incite them either to hope or fear, or raise in any of them the Passions of Love or Hatred. And this is one of the Reasons then given, why the most Christian King did so far indulge his preservation, as to advertise him of the former Conspiracy, lest he should exchange *Herb John* for *Coloquintida*. Another, but in my Opinion (tho' strongly prest by his Ministers) a very weak one, (for what obligation can restrain a Prince that sees an advantage before him) was the favours received from hence during the League: But the most probable was the advantage *Spain* was likely to make of it, first, by reason he had an Army then ready in *Flanders* to land in the huge mist so black a cloud must

must needs have caused over the Nation. Nor can his Holiness himself look upon our ruin with any affection; *England* being of too great a consequence to fall under any jurisdiction save her own, but to such an excess as may hazard his obedience: Many things being now suffered in relation to the fears of others, which would not in a full plenitude of power be conceded out of Love; besides, experience hath sufficiently informed the Consistory, that Church Lands are not only unravel'd, but so weaved into the Estates of the Laity, as not to be capable of separation by any Conversion or other heat than such a zeal as first refunded them out of the hearts of Converts, and stamped upon them an impress of Merit; not likely to be kindled amidst such knowledge as Printing hath inspired *Europe* withal, and by which so strict a watch is kept over what is dubious, as nothing can quietly pass without such a warrant from Reason, as the Clergy have in no Age been yet able to produce. Wherefore their hopes are in a manner buried as to the profits of *England*, and by consequence chilled from any Vigorous Prosecution farther than concerns his Holiness's Honour, in seeming to desire the preservation of those Catholicks that remain: And this did not only facilitate the entrance of *King James*, but might occasion the discovery of the Plot; which done to some Prince had drawn death or banishment upon them all; for at the bottom or top, either by Contribution or Prayers, the Lawyers would not have stuck to find them all guilty: so as he then wanted not persuasions to banish them. But his complexion being more slegm than choler, He only suffered the Parliament to sharpen Laws against them, that they might be the more obliged to him for stopping their execution; it being the general opinion of the Court, that after this he was more tender of their preservations, they attaining by fear what no pity nor policy could procure.

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15. To conclude, whosoever revealed this Conspiracy, it cost, as I have often been told, the King of France his Life: not only by questioning the truth of his Conversion, but did raise so high a suspicion of the immense Treasure and mighty Army he had with no less industry than secrecie gotten together (not one living owning to this day the knowledge of his design) in the hearts of *Spain* and *Rome*, as they procured his death: his freedom to the King of *England* rendring this silence the more suspected.

16. Now to take off the Subjects eyes from observing the Indulgency used by King *James* in behalf of the Papists, whom though he had no cause to love, he found reason enough to fear; a Quarrel was revived, (now almost asleep, because it had long escaped Persecution, the Bellows of Schism) with a People stiled Puritans, who meeting no nearer a definition than the name, all the Conscientious Men in the Nation shared the Contempt. Since under that general term were comprehended not only those brainsick Fools as did oppose the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church and made Religion an Umbrella to Impiety, but such as out of meer honesty refrained the Vices of the Times were branded by this Title; weaved of such a fashion, as it became a covering to the wicked, and no better than a Fools coat to men truly conscientious. Neither was any charged with it, though in the best relation, thought competent to preferment in Church or Common-weal; which made the bad glory in their Impiety, and such as had not an extraordinary measure of grace ashamed of any outward profession of sanctity. Court Sermons were fraught with bitter Investives against these people whom they seated in a Class far nearer the Confines of Hell than Papists, yet the wisest durst not define them. The King called them *Protestants* scared out of their wits; others, *Lovers of God, and haters of their neighbours*. Foolish and insignificant Expressions: For had they held them to the names of Hypocrites,  
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known and abominated by all, they would have been buried in contempt, and not risen, as since they have done, to the perpetual detriment of Church and State. But the breadth and newness of the name, together with the Colour it hath, did not only delight and cover all that cheated under a pretence of Sanctity, but stifled the seeds of goodness; so as probity was obstructed by deceit in the general Commerce, and Religion the guard of property rendred useless, if not destructive to humane Society.

Thus hath the Devil quenched (for what was but a Rivulet then, is now swelled to a Land-flood) that zeal with Hypocrisie, and its concomitants Shame and Reproach, which in my Father's Days resisted the Flames of the hottest Persecution: For to avoid an imputation of Puritanism (a greater Rub in the way to preferment, than Vice) our Divines for the generality did sacrifice more time to *Bacchus* than *Minerva*; and being excellent Company, drew the most ingenious Laity in a like excess: And for their ordinary Studies, they were School points and passionate expressions; as more conversant with the Friars than the Fathers, scorning in their ordinary discourse at *Luther* and *Calvin*, but especially at the last, so as I have heard a Bishop *thank God he never* (tho' a good Poet himself) *had read a line in him or Chaucer*. The same used this simile in a Sermon at Court, *That our Religion, like the King's Arms, stood between two Beasts, the Puritan and Papist, which* perhaps admitted of a better construction than he meant, the last being like the Lion, easily known; but the first suitable to an Unicorn, never seen but in Painting. Nor was this Schism any ways dangerous, till King *James* (more it may be thought out of ostentation, to shew such parts as are nothing necessary, than Reason of State, only requisite in a Prince) made it considerable, by putting it in competition with the Doctrine generally profest, in a Colloquie held before his Royal Person at *Hampton-Court*: where he sinned so

so highly against the experience to be deduced from the *French* and *Scots*, who by offering the unquestioned, or at least legal Profession to Arbitration, have brought their Religious habit into such a motley, as 'tis scarce discernable which side is the right, or with the most safety may be owned by the Magistrate. Since till that dishonourable Dispute, Who should command, the *Diocesan* or the Priest, none did boggle at the *Surplice*, *Cross*, *Ring*, and so by consequence the Common-prayer Book, but out of pure Conscience, and therefore unlikely to hurt any besides themselves; till the number increasing to such a proportion, made a visible profit appear to so many as wanting better employment, could but conform their Mode, Words, and Looks to these Precisions; though discrepant in heart from any thing the first owners of the title of Puritan did commonly practise in their conversation towards God and Man: This Generation being ordinarily found, especially after any long admittance, so well acquainted with the Secrets of God, as to distinguish between the Reprobate and the Elect. Which Whimsy grew upon the King's Disposition (whom you must presume they overcame in noise, and all things else but Logick and Power) so universal, as it became a good Benefactor to all incapable through Ignorance of any other preferment, and a Sanctuary to such wicked persons as had the Art to dissemble a Repentance. Nor did the notorious Debauchery of the Episcopal Clergy add a little to the rent, much augmented by the Scottish propensity of *Presbytery*, though the chiefest Promoters of it in their Doctrine and Example were the Lecturers, Vicars, and Parsons of inconsiderable Worth and Livings, being the readier to oppose Authority, as having little to lose, becoming by this means the Darlings of the Rabble. Nor did the sudden Translations of Bishops from less to greater Sees give time to visit sufficiently their respective Charges; being more intent upon the Receipt of such Taxes as a long abused Custom had esta-

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ted them in, than upon Reformation. I have been the more punctual, because from the Pulpit came all our future Miseries, God not being served there as he ought. The Court-Sermons informing his Majesty he might as Christ's Vicegerent Command all, and that the People, if they denied him supplement or inquired after the dispose of it, were presumptuous peepers into the sacred Ark of the State; not to be done but under the severest curse, though it appeared likely to fall through the falshood or folly of those at the Helm. But on the contrary the other qualified Preachers did fulminate against *Non Residence*, profanation of the Lord's Day, connivance at Popery, persecution of God's People, only inclusive in their Congregations, and those that supplied the wants of such like Saints as themselves, who maintained their Families and kept them in good plight out of the Fasts they did weekly assign, at first in private, and after before the Face of the Sun, and all this without or against the Leave of the Magistrate. But if this should be prosecuted to its farthest extent, it would moderate, if not expunge all the Villany legible in Story.

17. Now by this time the Nation grew feeble, and over-press'd with Impositions, Monopolies, Aids, Privy Seals, Concealments, pretermitted Customs, &c. besides all Forfeitures upon penal Statutes, with a multitude of Tricks more to cheat the English Subject (the most, if not all, unheard of in Queen *Elizabeth's* days) which were spent upon the *Scots*: By whom nothing was unasked, and to whom nothing was denied; who for want of honest Traffique did extract Gold out of the Faults of the English, whose Pardons they begged, and sold at intolerable Rates, Murder it self not being exempted: Nay, I dare boldly say, one Man might with more safety have killed another, than a rascal-Deer; But if a Stag had been known to have miscarried, and the Author fled, a Proclamation with the description of the party had been presently penned by the At-

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torney-general, and the penalty of his Majesty's high Displeasure (by which was understood the Star-Chamber) threatned against all that did abet, comfort or relieve him. Thus Satyrical, or, if you please, Tragical was this Sylvan Prince against Deer-killers, and indulgent to Man-slayers. But lest this expression should be thought too Poetical for an Historian, I shall leave him dressed to Posterity in the Colours I saw him in the next Progress after his Inauguration, which was as Green as the Grass he trod on, with a Feather in his Cap, and a Horn instead of a Sword by his side: How suitable to his Age, Calling, or Person, I leave others to judge from his Pictures, he owning a Countenance not in the least regard semblable to any my Eyes ever met with, besides an Host dwelling in *Anthil*, formerly a Shepherd, and so metaphorically of the same profession: He that evening parted with his Queen, and to shew himself more uxorious before the People at his first coming than in private he was, he did at Her Coach side take his Leave, by Kissing her sufficiently to the middle of her Shoulders, for so low she went bare all the days I had the fortune to know her; having a Skin far more amiable than the Features it covered, though not the Disposition, in which Report rendred her very debonair.

18. I do now consent freely to the justness of their Award who may in this Age condemn of Vanity such Observations as these: Yet having deduced from Experience that it is not only the Frailty but Custom and pure Nature of Humanity to venerate the least Splinter of Antiquity, beyond any thing bears the impress of the present Age, though commonly of no higher descent than the *Grecian* or *Roman* Monarchy, young and infantine in relation to the Worlds beginning, and so of an inconsiderable Force to contest with Printing, having themselves with all the Monuments they could raise, been out-stripped by a number of Books that had nothing else to keep them alive but the Ink that dropped

ped from the Writers Pen. Nor shall I, encouraged by the Presumption of this greater Advantage, refuse to register all I know, or do but firmly believe, as one delighting more in the Contemplation of a future Resurrection in the Opinions of those that may possess this Nation many Ages hence, than terrified with the Censures or Contempt of my own. Nor did I ever yet meet any Reason to alter the Confidence I have in some of my Contemporaries, that they equal, if not exceed such as are most Celebrated in all things but Time: And he that is such an Infidel in the Desert of his Country as to deny it, I leave him to our former Sermons for his Conversion, and to the Stage for a final confutation of so much partiality. As for me, I ever aimed my indeavours rather at the satisfaction of a single Reader like my self, who only seeks to learn, than those that think they are able to Teach: Who deal by Authors as the *Jews* did by our Saviour, that buried all the advantage might have been made of his Divinity, in the seeming frailties of his Humanity, without which they could not have had any commerce, or understanding of Truth, or drawn any Benefit from what others writ, or himself suffered. Neither can I apprehend it a greater Folly in me to register the yellowness of *Queen Ann's* Hair, with other Levities (which may seem pertinent to posterity though trivial now, yet of as high Concernment as *Cæsar's* Nose) than for the Earl of *Arundel* to give so many hundred Crowns for an Urn a Mason would not have valued at a Penny; yet he was not only commended but imitated by King *Charles*, who cannot appear ignorant to any so happy as to read what he hath left. And these are the Merchants I look one day to traffick with; in the mean time the stock of the Buyer need not to lie dead, having something else of more credit in the Worlds opinion, though not in my own that writ it. But to sound a Retreat to this folly, I would fain know how these low circumstances could be spared by such Almanack-gazers, (that are

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none of the Booksellers worst Chapmen) who may give credit to the white King, or the vision of one in Green said to be averred from *Italy* by———though I take such predictions upon no more solid an account, than flying Vapours, the former terrified imaginations of a discontented people do not seldom rally into the prodigious shapes of Armies and fighting Men.

19. All Kings cast away Money at the day of their Enthronement, but King *James* did it all his life. And here to speak God's truth, what better measure could be expected from that Line, the English folly or hypocrisie had rendred Motherless, by the infamous and unprincipely mediation of a Hangman. But the fault in suffering an Alien by birth, no less than an Enemy in affection to enter by any wider admittance than through both Houses of Parliament, hath not only given the Nation in general, but the Earl of *Northumberland* in particular, sufficient cause to wipe their eyes: Who cannot but leave to posterity the Scars, if not Wounds, received from such a blind mistake as the imagining any future obligation or precedent benefit should expunge out of the heart of a Prince (that apprehends nothing about him but what he takes as his due by inheritance) the marks of a former injury, or a jealousy depending on an after fear. For the thoughts of Kings, when established, are so far altered, as to receive inspirations from no remoter interests than what their own passions direct them to, unless compelled: So as King *James*, not taking his prospect from the love shewn in his quiet admittance, but the height of his Subjects power, began to muster up the Armies the English had raised against his Native Country; and not only to measure, but to weigh the blood spilt on the borders; amongst which he found that of *James* the Fifth mingled with his Allies, which prompted him no less to revenge, than the many perjuries, cruelties, and perfidious carriages of his Ancestors, still hanging on a File in the English Memory, did to distrust. Nor

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had the Earl of *Northumberland*, of honourable extraction and exquisite erudition, tho' muffled with love to the person of that Prince and his own Ambition, any Reason to think the Memory of the Money he supplied him with in *Scotland*, would not quite vanish upon the first apparition of the Exchequer at *Westminster*; or that the Forces he offered to raise in his Favour, in case of Opposition, would seem less formidable to him when quiet in his Chair: where once placed, Monarchs do rather ruminate on future Dangers than former Benefits: Kings like imperious Husbands, perverting after Marriage, those stolen Favours into Jealousie, that before an indissoluble Interest were reckoned for Marks of no less Obligation than Confidence; out of a distrust, that upon discontent, the same Arts and Carelesses may be employed to their damage. However this suited with *Northumberland's* Sense, I am sure it fell pat with his Success; for after endeavour failed to find him so far smutted with the Gun-Powder Plot as might engage his Life, he was cast into the Star-chamber, that Den of Arbitrary Justice, where the Keeper for the time being, two Bishops, Two Judges, and as many wise Lords and honest great Officers sate, as were pleased to come; the most of whom, though unable to render a Reason for the Censure, did, every *Wednesday* and *Friday* in Term time, concur like, &c. to tear such as refused to worship the Minion, or to yield to the pretended Royal Prerogative. Nor did they scape who were any way Satyrical, a thing not to be avoided by the Lovers of Truth; Corruption being as common as execution, with which it seldom went other than hand in hand: But the main imployment of this Court, was, like School-boys, to hold up one the other whilst their Master whipt them. Amongst whom was this Earl fined (if I mistake not) at 20000 *l.* with imprisonment in the Tower during his Majesty's Pleasure, which was so great, that he kept him in there divers years, upon what score was not then so easily discerned: for if

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*Percy* was his Kinsman, it is as true that he had lain many nights in the King's Chamber before he came hither, and been imployed in private by him to the English Catholics, yet His Majesty would have taken it ill to have been thought a Papist, or a Conspirer of Queen *Elizabeth's* death. Not to proceed farther upon an exasperated and single evidence, otherwise than that it did not suit with any thing I could observe in his temper, much less with a person of his Honour and Fortune to exchange so happy a present condition, for any future advantage he could hope to scramble out from amongst Cinders and Ruins of his Country.

20. It was the fashion of those times, and did so continue till these (wherein not only the Mother but her Daughters are ruined) for the principal Gentry, Lords, Courtiers, and men of all Professions not merely Mechanick, to meet in *St. Paul's Church* by eleven, and walk in the middle Isle till twelve; and after dinner, from three to six; during which time some discoursed of Business, others of News. Now, in regard of the universal commerce, there happened little that did not first or last arrive here: And I being young, and wanting a more advantagious imployment, did, during my aboad in *London*, which was three fourth parts of the year, associate my self at those hours with the choicest company I could pick out, amongst such as I found most inquisitive after affairs of State; who being then my self in a daily attendance upon a hope (though a rotten one) of a future preferment, I appeared the more considerable, being as ready to satisfy, according to my weak abilities, their Curiosity, as they were mine: who out of a candid nature were not ordinarily found to name an Author, easily lost in such a Concourse, where his own report was not seldom within few minutes returned to him for News by another. And these News-Mongers, as they called them, did not only take the boldness to weigh the publick, but most intrinsick actions of the State, which some



Courtier or other did betray to this Society : Amongst whom divers being very rich had great sums owing them by such as stood next the Throne, who by his means were rendred in a manner their Pensioners ; so as I have found since little Reason to question the truth of what I heard then, but much to confirm me in it ; wherefore the bolder to insert a Report then current ; which was, the King thought *Northumberland* too intimate with his Son *Henry*, who in vindication of this Earl's persecution cast a malignant aspect upon the Houses of *Suffolk* and *Sarisbury*, thought no ways aver-  
 tible but by his Death. But since a likely Lie may with more manners and less reproach be imposed upon Belief, than an improbable Truth without witness, I shall for this time wade no farther in the present discourse, already thought dry in the memory of the most. Though this remains upon record, that brave *Fortescue*, that did first oppose this Scottish succession but upon Caution, enjoyed his liberty, without any more considerable loss than sustained by the exchange of the Chancellour's place in the Exchequer, for that in the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, remaining to the last a Counsellor : whereas *Northumberland*, that had drawn his Sword in his favour, was made Captive, disgraced and insulted over by his Enemies : Which, Fortune, to render it more terrible did some years after allot his Son the Lord *Percy* a Wife out of the Family of *Sarisbury*, whose Blood the Father said, would not mingle in a Basen, so averse was he from it. Nor had *Fortescue* better success, when, by a huge Entertainment at *Cornbury*, he went about to oblige the King ; for as *Tomlins*, once his Secretary, told me, He at his parting laughed, and let a ——— in the Porch. Wherefore we may note it, as equally pernicious to oblige a Prince above a reasonable requital, as to oppose him beyond the extent of a moderate patience.

21. About this time the Puritans exasperated by the Bishops (who to render their preferments of more

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consequence to Monarchy, upon whose dependance they now only subsisted, would not suffer them to be so long at quiet as might give them leave to recover their senses) did in a submissive way (encouraged by the *Hugonots* success) mediate another Colloquie before the King, whom they endeavoured to draw to their party by the high esteem pretended they had of his Learning, though Church-land was the most pious inducement in the eyes of those *Scotch* and *English* that did prompt them to it upon promise of their best assistance: But his Majesty having found by his former experience, that Schisms are attended with a smaller train of Inconveniences, and easier buried and with less clamour, in Sufferance and Contempt, than by Opposition or Disputation, did most stily deny it, appearing highly displeased; that after so manifest a conviction, he should again be tempted to hazard his Reason against such as had nothing but a brutish obstinacy to oppose: which answer was allowed of as far more Majestical and politick than his former concession in descending to a formal disputation: since Opinions rooted by descent, are sooner chilled through want of preferments, than eradicated by power, which arraigns the exposing of any Religion to contest as dangerous, seeing all at this day in veneration are under persecution in some place or other, wherefore unable to silence the reason of those formerly suborned through a contrary Education.

22. In the mean time this Nation was rooted up by those *Caledonian* Boors, as these homely Verses do attest, which were every where posted, and do contain as many stories as Lines, which I shall explain, though they may possibly fall out of order, it not suiting with the liberty of a Spirit, that walks rather for its own exercise than the instruction of an ignorant and ungrateful State, to be punctual.

*They beg our Lands, our Goods, our Lives ;  
 They Switch our Nobles, and lie with their Wives ,  
 They Pinch our Gentry, and send for our Benchers,  
 They Stab our Serjeants, and pistol our Fencers.*

That they were gracious with the English Ladies none can doubt that hath had but the opportunity to peep into a Court, where the Love of Women is found a consequence of the favour of the Prince.

23. Wherefore I shall take my first rise from him that was then *Philip Herbert*, since Earl of *Montgomery*, a man caressed by King *James* for his handsome face, which kept him not long Company, leaving little behind it so acceptable as to render him fit society for any body but himself, and such Books as Posterity may find ordinarily dedicated to him, which might yet have prompted his understanding to a more candid proceeding than he used at *Oxford*, where he exercised greater passion against Learning, that had by teaching Books to speak English endeavoured to make him wise, than he did towards *Ramsay*, who by switching him on the face at *Croyden*, rendered him ridiculous : It was at a Horse-race where many both *Scotch* and English met ; The latter of which did upon this accident draw together with a resolution to make it a National Quarrel, so far as Mr. *John Pinchback*, though a maimed Man, having but the perfect use of 2 Fingers, rode about with his Dagger in his hand, crying, *Let us break our Fast with them here, and dine with the rest at London.* But *Herbert* not offering to strike again, there was nothing spilt but the Reputation of a Gentleman ; in lieu of which, if I am not mistaken, the King made him a Knight, a Baron, a Viscount, and an Earl in one day, as he well deserved, having for his sake, or rather out of fear, transgressed against all the Gradations of Honour. For if he had not torn to Rags that Coat of Arms, so often in my hearing bragged of, and so stanch'd the Blood then ready to be spilt, not only

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that Day, but all after must have proved fatal to the Scots, so long as any had staid in *England*; the Royal Family excepted, which in respect to Majesty, or their own Safety, they must have spared, or the Kingdom been left to the misery of seeing so much Blood laid out as the trial of so many crabbed Titles would have requir'd; there being then, according to Report, no less than Fourteen, of which *Parsons* the Jesuit, so impudent is this Fraternity, makes the *Infanta* the First. But they could not be these Considerations that restrained *Herbert*, who wanted Leisure no less than Capacity to use them, though laid in his Way by others: And therefore if this Effeminacy produced good to the Nation (at that time doubted by many) the Honour is only due to God, whose miraculous Power was no less manifested (upon so high a Provocation and great Encouragement as the whole Field afforded *Philip*) in raising so much Flegm in a Man nobly born as might master so great a Fury, than when he discovered to *Sampson* a cold Fountain in the Jaw-bone of an Ass. And such of his Friends as blame his Youth for doing nothing, take away all Excuse could have been made for him, had he done too much: since all commonly arrive at the Years of Valour, before they can attain to those of Discretion. This I can attest for the Man, That he was intolerably cholerick and offensive, and did not refrain whilst he was Chamberlain, to break many wiser heads than his own: Mr. *May* that translated *Lucan* having felt the weight of his Staff; which, had not his Office, and the place, being the Banqueting House, protected, I question whether he would ever have struck again: So disobliging were the most grateful pleasures of the Court; whose Masks and other Spectacles, though they wholly intended them for shew, and would not have been [pleased without great store of Company, yet did not spare to affront such as came to see them: Which accuseth the King no less of Folly, in being at so vast an expence for that which signified

nothing but in relation to pride and Lust; than the Spectators (I mean such as were not invited) of madness, who did not only give themselves the discomposure of Body attending such irregular Hours, but to others an opportunity to abuse them. Nor could I, that had none of their share that passed through the most incommodious access, count my self any greater gainer (who did ever find some time before the grand night to view the Scene) after I had reckoned my attendance and sleep: there appearing little observable, besides the Company, and what Imagination might conjecture from the placing of the Ladies, and the immense charge and universal vanity in clothes, &c.

24. I have been told the Mother of *Herbert* tore her Hair at the Report of her Son's Dishonour, who, I am confident, upon a like opportunity would have ransomed her own repute, if she had not redeemed her Countries. She was that Sister to Sir *Philip Sidney* to whom he addressed his *Arcadia*, and of whom he had no other advantage than what he received from that partial benevolence of Fortune, in making him a Man; which yet she did in some Judgments, recompense in beauty. Her Pen being nothing short of his, as I am ready to attest, as far as so inferiour a Reason may be taken, having seen incomparable Letters of hers. But lest I should seem to trespass upon Truth, which few do unshorned, as I protest I am, unless by her Rhetoric, I shall leave the World her Epitaph, in which the Author doth manifest himself a Poet in all things but Untruth.

*Underneath this Sable Herse  
Lies the Subject of all Verse:  
Sidney's Sister, Pembrok's Mother;  
Death ere thou killest such another,  
Fair and Good and Learn'd as she,  
Time shall throw a Dart at thee.  
Marble Piles let no Man raise*

To her Name, for after days  
 Some kind Woman born as she  
 Reading this, like Niobe  
 Shall turn Statue, and become  
 Both her Mourner and her Tomb.

25. In the mean time the King was much troubled at this Accident, not being able to ruminate upon the Consequence it might have produced, without trembling: Nor could he refrain from letting fall sharp expressions against the Insolency of the *Scots*, and folly of the English, whose blood he pretended to indulge most both within and without him: But this he soon retracted, carrying such an awful Reverence to his own Countrymen, who had chastised him in his Mother's belly, as he durst not displease them, out of fear to find himself deserted. It being past peradventure that he never looked upon the English as friends, the cause he rejoiced in nothing more than promoting Excess, by which he hoped to ruin Nobility and Gentry. But however remote his Affections were, he durst not but banish *Ramsay* the Court, a poor satisfaction for *Herbert*, that had left nothing to testifie his Manhood but a beard and Children, by that Daughter of the last great Earl of *Oxford*, whose Lady was brought to his Bed under the notion of his Mistress, and from such a vertuous deceit she is said to proceed.

26. One thing was then remarkable at *Croyden* field, that none but *Sr. Edward Sackville*, of the English, went on the *Scots* side, and he out of love to the Lord *Bruce*, whom he after killed in a Duel; which was to ill taken by his Countrymen, as divers, protested, that if the fray had succeeded, he was the first likely to have fallen.

27. The second matter of worth in the Verses concerns *Mr. Edward Hawley*, an intimate acquaintance of mine, who coming to Court on a grand day, *Maxwel* (more famous for this and Wealth, than Civility or Edu-



Education, not being ever able to read or write) led him out of the Room by a black String he wore in his ear, a Fashion then much in use. But this had like to have cost warm blood, *Hawley* appearing of another temper than he at *Croyden*. Besides, being of *Grays-Inn*, not only his Society, but all Gentry in *London* took themselves concerned so far, as meer Strangers flocked to his Chamber, and though more than needed (he being apt enough to Revenge himself) they besought him to remember he had the Honour of all the English Gentry in his hands, and if managed with Gallantry and Discretion, he should find enough to stand by him, many offering to become his Seconds, which he could not accept, having before made choice of Mr. *Jo. Thoroughgood* since Knighted, who told *Maxwel*, if he refused to fight, *Hawley* would kill him where-ever he met with an opportunity; which so frightened King *James*, that he sent for the *Benchers*, and through the mediation of Chancellor *Bacon*, formerly of the same Society, took up the Quarrel, forcing the *Scots* to give humble satisfaction, to a quiet admission of what Mr. *Hawley* should desire: And to soder up the breach, the Students of *Grays-Inn* performed an exquisite Mask before his Majesty, by whom they were invited to a great Banquet; whereat the Gentlemen, something contrary to the rules of Civility, were so hasty, as to scramble, rather than feed: for which they underwent a sharp censure, being in the presence of many *Scots*, who looked upon it with scorn, tho' owned themselves for Masters of no great Modesty. Besides, when they kissed the Kings hand, many put it to their Lips with their own, looked on at Court for a low absurdity.

28. The third relates to one *Murray*, who killed, by the help of his men, a Serjeant that came to Arrest him under or near *Ludgate*; for which, more to satisfy the Sheriffs of *London*, than Justice, the two Servants were hanged, and the Master who was principal, tho' with some difficulty, escaped. But the Lord *Zan-*  
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for found no such favour for killing *Turner* the *Fencer* who was a Man of eminent parts, and so better deserved it, yet his Servants and he were executed: by whose death the King satisfied in part the people, and wholly himself; it being thought he hated him for his love to the King of *France*, and not making any reply when he said in his presence to one that called our *James* a second *Solomon*, that he hoped he was not *David* the *Fidler's Son*. Thus do Princes abuse one another.

29. In this place my memory presents me with Sir *Robert Cecil*, after Earl of *Sarisbury*, famed for the most mortal Enemy of the Earl of *Essex*, and a seducer of the King, by perswading him this Nation was so rich, *it could neither be exhausted nor provoked*; A saying generally laid to his charge, yet contradicted in this practice of his; for the Earl of *Somerset*, being in the flower of his favour before he had either Wife, or Beard, had got a peremptory Warrant to the Treasurer for 20000*l*; who, in his exquisite Prudence, finding that not only the Exchequer, but the *Indies* themselves would in time want fluency to feed so immense a prodigality, and not without reason apprehending the King as ignorant in the value of what was demanded, as the desert of the Person that begged it; and knowing a Pound, upon the *Scotch* accompt, would not pay for the shoeing of a Horse, by which his Master might be farther led out of the way of thrift, than in his own Nature he was willing to go, being observed very tenacious in the distribution of any money passed through his hands, or in his presence; laid the former mentioned sum upon the ground in a room through which his Majesty was to pass: who amazed at the quantity, as a sight not unpossibly his eyes never saw before, asked the Treasurer, *Whose money it was*; who answered, *Yours before you gave it away*: Whereupon the King fell into passion, protesting he was abused, never intending any such gift: And casting himself upon the heap, scrambled out the quantity of 2 or 300 pounds, and swore he should have

have no more : However it became the Kings Minion, Cecil durst not provoke him farther than by permitting him only the Moiety. But this not working a perfect cure upon his Master's profuseness, or with the rest of his Vertues being hid from the knowledge of the Menu, who like Flies feast their Affections upon the Corruptions, rather than sounder parts of Great Men ; and having before had such a dust raised in their Cholders, by his sharp proceedings against the late Earl of *Essex*; and his Enclosures of *Hatfield Chase* (after he had to his so great advantage exchanged it for his Mannor of *Theobalds* ) that the black cloud of detraction fell upon all he said or did : To which the Misfortunes accompanying him from his Birth, did not a little add, a Mulet in Nature, like an Optick Spectacle, multiplying much, in the sight of the People, the apparitions of ill. Nor was his Death, by prejudice looked upon as *Herod's*, nor the place it attached him on, viz. *Salisbury-Plain* in his Coach, nor *Po* his Physician then present (a meer Empirick, and celebrated for no skill but in the cure of the &c.) small inducement to the Reports which followed : yet when these were spent, and he as it were retired into that Sanctuary that doth hide reproach rather than increase it, inexorable Fate, by the assistance perhaps of some Imposthume, (which his maligners translated into an effect of God's vengeance, and dedicated it to his farther Infamy) brake the Lead he was wrapped in, with so much noise and stench as affrighted the by-standers : Therefore no wonder he met with no fairer Encomiums, of which I shall relate these, not favouring so much of scurrility, though perhaps less of Wit than many did then current.

*Here lies thrown, for the Worms to eat,  
Little Boffive Robin, that was so great.  
Not Robin-Goodfellow, nor Robin-Hood,  
But Robin the Encloser of Hatfield Wood :  
Who seem'd as sent from ugly Fate,*



*To spoil the Prince and rob the State.  
 Owning a Mind of dismal ends,  
 As Traps for Foes, and Tricks for Friends.  
 But now in Hatfield lies the——  
 Who stank while he liv'd, and died of the——*

It may be judged by these, how future Chronicles agree with common fame, which, in my opinion ought not to be rejected, if not chiefly relied upon. Those that follow came from so smart a Pen in the King's sense, that he said, *he hoped the Author would die before him:* who it was God knows.

*Here lies Hobinal, our Pastor while e'er,  
 That once in a Quarter our Fleeces did shear.  
 To please us, his Curr he kept under Clog.  
 And he was ever after both Shepherd and Dog,  
 For Oblation to Pan his custom was thus,  
 He first gave a Trifle, then offered up Us:  
 And through his false Worship such power he did gain,  
 As kept him o'th Mountain, and us on the Plain.  
 Where many a Horn-pipe he turn'd to his Phyllis,  
 And sweetly sang Walsingham to's Amaryllis.  
 Till Atropos clapt him, a Pox on the Drab,  
 For (sight of his Tarbox) he died of the Scab.*

It is possible Posterity may find a Key to these Verses; if not, the loss is not so much: however it will not be uneasy for her to make one able to serve their turn that never knew the right.

How many soever his Faults were, he was of an incomparable Prudence, and coming so near after such an unadvised scatterer as King *James*, he might have feathered his Family better than he did, but that he looked upon low things with contempt, leaving much to the gleaning of his Servants, of which many came after into high places. Nor may that be improperly applied to him, which is, in another case, said of  
 Gregory

*Gregory the Great, that he was the first ill Treasurer, and the last good, since Queen Elizabeth's days*: He not standing charged with any grosser Bribery or Corruption than what lay inclusive under the Ceremony of New-years Gifts, or his own, or Servants sharing with such as by importunity rather than merit had obtained Debentures out of the Exchequer; which through these courses came at last to be so far exhausted, as it was not able to feed the Privy-Purse, and bear the necessary charges of the Household. And this put him upon an improvement of the Customs, to the great discouragement of Merchants; no less than the project of Barons, intended at first for a meer Cheat (as a person of Honour, and no stranger to *Cecil* did protest) had not the great concurrence that crouded after this Title (rendred infamous by the base consideration of Money inserted in their Patent) kept it in repute; there having been a Motion made, if not a Bill put in the last Parliament of King *James* against it: no more being by the primitive Institution to be admitted than two hundred, and they so qualified, as were hard to be found, and so the likelier to be laught out of it after their money paid, which was all the Treasurer desired: who did not by it intend to put any affront upon the Knights Batchelours, as was supposed, and he in some disdain questioned for it. But the Sale of Crown Timber appeared of saddest consequence to the safety of the Nation in relation to the Navy, the Walls of the Kingdom: English Oak being then esteemed of as the best for a Sea-fight, not being apt to cleave upon the receipt of a Shot, but rather bore: and of these millions were felled and sold at vile prizes, not only during the life of the Earl of *Salisbury*, but all the Reign of King *James*.

30. Now though there did no degrees of Comparison appear in the wills of those Northern Adjectives, not able to subsist without *England*, who like their Ancestors did exchange a Wilderness for a *Canaan*; yet  
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much more mischief resided in the power of some than others ; amongst whom now fresh in my Memory are the Lords *Roxborrow*, *Felton*, *Carlisle*, and *Dunbar*, that during the Reign of this King lay sucking at the breasts of the State, nor were some of them weaned long after his Death ; the last of which swallowed at one gulp together with the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, all the standing Wardrobe, wherein were more Jewels, Pearls, Rich Robes, and Princely Apparel, than ever any King of *Scotland* (if all of them put together) could call his own before ; all which I have since heard rated by the Officers at an incredible Sum, whose Servants did use to shew them for money, it appearing none of the least rarities in *London* before this great Dissolution. And for *James Hayes*, after Earl of *Carlisle*, though of no more Noble extraction than the immediate Son of a *Scotch* Merchant, an appellation some under a Stall would scorn to Patronize, it is known he did bestow more trimming in the varnish of a Wainscot Carcass, than any of his Masters Ancestors did in the clothing themselves and their whole Families. Nor was the Honour of *Anthil* a small Present made at one time to the Earl of *Kelly*, especially by a Prince that had never been able to match it, but through the benevolence, if I may not rate it at the folly of a Nation, of whose ruin he became the first and principal Instrument. Yet as if these ancient Standards, and so by consequence the more tolerable, because Companions in his lower condition, had not been enough to eclipse the glory of *England*, this ungrateful Prince (if I may call him so that cannot in Justice deserve, from one born under *Queen Elizabeth*, a better Title) to make our miseries hereditary, called up *Robert Carre* from a poor Page, and to the dishonour of our Ancient Nobility, raised him to as high a Title, and as great an Estate (three hundred thousand pounds being rated to the Crown upon his fall) as most Earls of *England*: But there appears so many leaves lying between his advance-



vancement and ruin, as I am not at this time prepared to remove.

31. King *James* studying only to keep things quiet during his own time, without any other care of his Posterity than what related to the safety they brought to his person, and finding Bishops the best Church-Government yet discovered in the pursuance of Monarchy, whereas a Parity in Ecclesiastical affairs did pretend a propensity to Popularity in the State. He looked upon Presbytery in his own Country with no less fear than disdain : yet believing it impossible to unhinge the Nobility and Gentry from the hold they had already taken on the Clergy, in which they lay the best claim they had to Church-Lands, nor the Priests from their Patrons to whom they were Household Chaplains, or of so mean parts as unlikely to hold the pittance they enjoyed in the company of any severer power than their own ; besides the nature of man is better content with a little in freedom, than far more with constraint. He endeavour'd to joyn both Nations in a Union ; but not willing to gratifie the English so much as to make them participate of the Scottish Immunities, but rather to bend their necks to our yoke, he intimates a Parliament ; and before their assembling endeavours to suborn by large promises all the popular and principal speakers ; hoping, the Vowels being at his devotion, to make the Consonants comply with any voice in what sense he was pleased to put upon them, or lose themselves in insignificant Clamours. *The same project and endeavour by corrupting members, was used about seven years after in the Parliament of Undertakers, where certain Bills of Grace (as they called them) were offered to the House of Commons, by the Earl of Somerset. The first proposition, and that which came fullest up to the King's design, was this ; That as both Nations were under one Prince, the way to obliterate all former or future difference, was to submit both to one Law ; without manifesting that partial resolution he had, rather to remain*  
where

where he was, than suffer the English to share in the privileges of Scotland; imagining it no hard matter, upon so eminent an advantage to bring the less readily to submit to the greater, and that where the Court did commonly reside: by which he had with one bush stopped two of the greatest gaps did then appear open in his Prerogative. But to this he received a like answer from his Countreymen, *That in France, Spain, and the Netherlands, many Laws and Usances were proper to some Provinces, Cities, and Towns, that did not extend to other parts, though in gross under the same Capital Power. Nor were the Customs of Kent, the Isles of Wight, Guernsey, and Jersey, &c. communicable with the rest of England, notwithstanding the contrary endeavours of many Kings and Queens of the Nation: wherefore his Majesty might guess at the difficulties of the attempt, to persuade the Subject out of those Laws from whence he received any personal benefit, by his own and all Princes else unwillingness to augment them.* Nor could they for the present, without exposing his antient and native Country to a rupture, innovate any thing in Church Government: yet upon the King's promise to the Nobility, and his future real performance, they found a room in their Consciences for Bishops. Tho' under this fatal prediction, grounded upon the Incompliancy of the Episcopal Clergy and their natural propensity to dilate their power, that it would ruin one, if not both the Nations, which our eyes have been so unhappy as to see accomplished; and through the self-same mediation, from which wisdom expected it should come many years before. Now after the wily Scots had purged and discharged the Union from any taste or colour of malignity towards their own Nation, they drove it on with the furiousness of *Jehu*: But the English Parliament found Members enough intire in the duty they owed to their Country, so far to outvote those Laymen in their integrity through the hope of preferment, as they appeared inconsiderable for Power or good Conduct in the eyes of

their Prince, and no less base and corrupt in those of the People; upon whose Miscarriage all hope of Good was retracted; King *James* sharing so large a Proportion in the Folly of Princes, that he never gratified the Subject, but upon urgent Necessity, or by way of Barter; which made their Representative consider him at best but in the relation of a Merchant, and themselves as Countrymen brought up only to be couzned.

32. Yet the many no less better than rational Speeches made in the House of Commons against this Conjunction, could not rebate the Scottish Impudence, from endeavouring to bring in by the back and formerly unknown way of Prerogative, that as the Parliament, hitherto the sole Guard of Property, had refused all Hope of Entrance to, through any Legal Passage. And for the more effectual Promotion of this, the Earl of *Dunbar*, making use of the Advantage his place offered him, did sound the Barons of the Exchequer, and though *Altam* and his Brother afforded him small Encouragement, *Tanfield* and *Snig*, the first no less famed for Corruption, than the other for Ignorance, gave him the Assurance of their Compliance in Judgment: With whom *Cook* was reported to concur, though a known Antagonist to the Chief-Baron *Tanfield* in most things else, wherein any Difficulty did seem to appear. But though two of these had gained the height of Opinion for Law in those Times, *Cook* was thought over-full of Levity, and both of them too low situated in Honour and Grace with the Nobility, to drive on so weighty and ungrateful a design, with any hope of better success than contempt, or a present Confutation: Wherefore the Chancellour *Egerton* was prevailed upon so far, partly out of Hope, but chiefly for Fear, lest the King (as after he did) should send him a Writ of Ease, grown now old, or by calling his Corruption into question discharge him of his Employment, did undertake in the Star-chamber, to prove in a long Speech, *That all the Scots born since his Majesty's*  
possession



possession of the Crown of England, were legally free Denizens of this Nation: King James refusing to include those formerly in being, lest he should in his own time have tasted the bitter Consequence of so unjust an Intrusion upon the Liberty of that People which had without any Disturbance suffered him to enter. And this Argument rendred the Chancellor seven times more the object of Reproach than he was before. The Speech being thought by the English above the desert of the cause, as too elaborate, considering the Prejudice it brought, and by the Scots below it, many of his own Profession arraigning it of Ignorance and Mistakes: But the Commons looked upon him as the owner, not only of a brazen Impudence in daring to oppose his single Opinion to a whole Parliament, but were ready to hiss at the Invalidity of his Assertions, Protesting them as much against Law (in which, having no Skill, I shall not meddle) as Reason, Conscience, and the general Proceedings of the World both antient and modern.

33. The Promoters of the Union in the House of Commons, no less than the Chancellor in the House of Lords, did, besides many Rebukes and Scoffs, meet with some such Answers as these: *That since no Lord of a Rich Mannor would accept the Offer of one more poor, upon the Condition of Enter-Commoning, lest he should beggar his best Tenants, without making his worst Consideration: so, &c.*

*That no People indued with the natural Desire of Preservation, being happy at that Instant, would admit the Prince of a Beggerly Nation to reign over them, how just so ever his Claim was, for fear of losing their Propriety, as dear as Life is self, and so as vigorous to be defended.*

Some Corporations explode for Foreigners such as are not bred in the place; All those born out of the Nation. And these last Objections owned a Countenance sterner enough in the Opinions of many to face the entrance of James himself, it cannot but raise a Doubt how his

Admittance should make way for the whole Nation to follow him.

*He that considers the Enmity that hath ever been between Scotland and England, with their propensity to drive on a Feud through many Generations, cannot think of our mixing without trembling; there being some affinity in Blood, Laws, Customs, and Affection betwixt the Welch and us, none, with, &c.*

*If the French, being in our possession, were allowed to export Wool, Cloth, &c. it was in lieu of Wine and other Commodities they brought us: But what have the Scots of their own growth but Eggs, Barnicles, and such drugs for the cure of the Jaundice, as may be found under our Hedges, though not in so great quantities. Wherefore since in all Communities, a reciprocal Contribution is required, and without which the Body Politick cannot flourish, what an irreparable Loss should we have sustained through such a Conjunction.*

*The Romans had many rich Cities, Nations, and Colonies, that were not sharers in the freedom of Rome, looked upon as a special Favour and only Communicable at the benevolence of the Senate; Legible in their Story, no less than the Scripture, where though Saint Paul was free born, Claudius Lysias the chief Captain, far above him in Dignity, was fain to obtain it for a great Summ.*

*Though Sicily, Naples, Milan, be within the Title, no less than Jurisdiction of the most Catholick King, yet these have no more power to trade in the Indies, than those unhappy People have to traffick in any part of Castile.*

*Nature hath taught every Nation a particular Ingenuity to provide for its own Necessities, which upon the access of another, must be either exceeded, and soundone, or go beyond the new Comer, and ruin him. Therefore since we had no want of Inhabitants of our own, such a beggerly addition must needs be destructive. The Scot like the poor Swiss (yet better provided for, and nearer the Sun than he) finds a more commodious abiding under every Climate, than at home; which as it makes the Swiss to venture their Lives in the quar-*

rel of any Prince for Money; so this Northern people are known to do, or turn Pedlers, being become so cunning thro' Necessity, that they ruin all about them: Manifest in Ireland, where they usually say, None of any other Country can prosper that come to live within the Kenning of a Scot.

If our Saviour Christ, The King of Kings, whose Treasure can never be exhausted, said, though in another dialect, It is not meet, that is, not just, nor expedient, to give the Childrens bread to, &c. can any think it prudent or legal to share the Fruits of England with the Sons of the Locust and Daughters of the Horse-Leech?

To conclude, Reason would fain be satisfied from those that maintain the Legality of the Union: Whether if Queen Elizabeth had married the Duke of Moscovy, as he did by his Ambassadors desire it, that whole Nation (though far above Scotland in value) should have had a natural Denization in England.

34. At this time the Honour of Knighthood, which Antiquity preserved sacred, as the cheapest and readiest Jewel to present Virtue with, was promiscuously laid on any Head belonging to the Yeomandry, (made addle through pride and a contempt of their Ancestors Pedigree) that had but a Court-friend, or money to purchase the favour of the meanest able to bring him into an outward room, when the King, the Fountain of Honour came down, and was uninterrupted by other Business; in which Case it was then usual for him to grant a Commission for the Chamberlain, or some other Lord to do it: But Experience soon informed the Empty Scot, That as this Airy Treasure was inexhaustible, so it might be turned to great Profit, seeing the Shoals of base and ignorant Trouts that gaped after it (the Cause, Access to the King was made daily more difficult :) By this rendring the Temple of Honour a common Theatre, into which the basest were suffered to enter for their Money.



35. Now this Shower of Dignities falling upon all, without any more serious Consideration than Favour or Profit, whole Houses were ruined: For ancient Gentlemen, finding themselves preceded by baser Families; only for having the Impudence or Luck to be dubb'd before them: And being despised, or spurred on through their Wives Ambition, or their own Shame, fell into the Trap gilded with the Title of Baronet, for which they were to pay a Thousand Pounds, as is expressed in their Patent: No slight Caveat for the Vanity of it: And how short-lived that Honour must needs be that was built upon no stronger Basis than the mercenary Consideration of such a Summ; Riches for the most part being the lot of Covetous and dejected Spirits. Besides, Augmentation of Titles puts a higher Imposition upon all Expences; since he that before, being considered but as a Gentleman, could compose his Charge within such a precise rate, now double did not serve the turn: Men in honour, contrary to the Elements of Frugality, being not seldom compelled to proportion their layings out to their Dignities, not their Pot to their Ability: For Wives, Daughters, Sons and Servants, cannot all, if any do, regulate their Minds to the Estate, but fix their Eyes upon the glittering Splendor of this new Star of Honour, and do by that steer their expence, till of a sudden they fall into so deep an Ocean of debt, as they are never able to preserve their ancient Lands, but are forced to sell, die in a Prison, or play at Bo-peep all the remainder of their days with their Creditors in *London*.

36. Baronies, Earldoms, &c. Were sold to the English that had wherewithal to buy them in any of the three Nations; But the *Scots*, the principal Actors in this Comedy of Pride, were allowed a free entrance into the Houses of Dignity at their pleasure. And here may be observed upon what base and unequal Terms the English were dealt withal, that had no place in the Parliament of *Scotland*, though made Barons there, yet such

such of that Nation as owned the like Titles here; were not only called by *Writ* to the *House of Lords*, but sate in the *Star Chamber*: A Court I do not remember to have seen any *Scots* appear in as Criminals, many as Judges.

37. The palpable partiality that descended from the *Father* to the *Scots*, did Esteem the whole Love of the *English* upon his *Son Henry*: Whom they engaged by so much *expectation*, as it may be doubted, whether it ever lay in the Power of any Prince *meerly humane*, to bring so much Felicity into a Nation, as they did all his Life propole to themselves at the Death of King *James*. For my own particular, though I may Concur so far with the general Voice of the whole *Kingdom*, as to allow him the highest *Epithets* belonging to an Active, Generous and Noble Cavalier, yet I want not cause in *experience*, by suspending my future Judgment, to avoid their common mistake, who think all such Vertues lost in the untried dead, as are found absent in him that had the luck to succeed: It being the usual condition of these high Planets, to conceal all Malignity in their temper, till by the Sun's setting they become supream themselves, and have the reins in their own hands: For before they can never think they are secure, nor after apprehend a possibility of losing their power. The cause many Princes let their Passions loose towards all excess and impieties, when their Country hath most use of their temperance and moderation. I say not this out of any propensity to their Opinions who are apt to Prognosticate a future ill, out of the present shew of Goodness in men so highly bred, or to rob him of the happiness to be allowed virtuous, which descends to all from Charity till the contrary appears; But to justify the truth of Story, where you may find as few abominable Princes as tolerable Kings.

The reason may be, an advantage they have to see what is disgusted in their Father, which is avoided for the present, more out of popularity than dislike: For

though *Absalom*, to attain his ends, might appear a better Justicier than *David*, it is great odds but upon success he had proved as Tyrannical as *Solomon* or *Rehoboam*. Besides the terrible condition a Prince for the most part lives in, since ordinarily a Father punisheth that in his Son with a gentle reproof, which Kings are often known to do by a mortal poyson. The truth is, Prince *Henry* never arrived at the great Test, Supremacy in Power, that leaves the will wholly to its own guidance; being not only set out of the reach of Reproof, but hears his actions approved by some, though in their true nature they appear never so ugly.

38. The Government of his House was with much Discretion, Modesty, Sobriety, and (which was looked upon as too great an upbraiding the contrary proceedings of his Fathers) in an high reverence to piety, not swearing himself, or keeping any that did: Through which he came to be advanced beyond an ordinary measure in the affections of the City; to whom he was not only plausible in his Carriage, but Just in payments, so far as his Credit out-reached the King's both in the Exchange and the Church. In which the Son could not take so much Felicity, as the Father did Discontent, to find all the Worth he imagined in himself, wholly lost in the hopes the People had of this young Gentleman. From whence Kings may be concluded far more unhappy than ordinary Men; for though, whilst Children are young they may afford them safety, yet when arrived at that Age which useth to bring Comfort to other Parents, they produce only Jealousies and Fears: For if Deformed, Foolish, or Vicious, they offend the natural Disposition of a Father, who cannot but desire his Issue perfect; if they prove otherwise, and be excellent, that of a Prince; because his Reign must needs be thought dim and tedious who hath such a Spark to succeed him as this *Henry*, which in all mens Judgment appeared more Illustrious than his old Father. Thus are Kings found as remote from Felicity with Children,



as from Safety without : and as the last of these Considerations have tempted some to acknowledge the Issue of Strangers and such as their Wives have come to by chance, so the first hath provoked as many to make away their own.

And, if common Fate did not out strip truth, King *James* was by fear led into this extreme : finding his Son *Henry* not only averse to any Popish match, but saluted by the Puritans as one prefigured in the Apocalypse for *Rome's* destruction And to parallel this, one *Ball a Taylor* was inspired with a like Lunacy, though something more chargeable ; for not only he, but *Ramsey* his Majesty's Watch-maker, put out Money and Clocks, to be paid (but with small advantage, considering the improbability) when King *James* should be Crowned in the Pope's Chair. Nor did *Henry* carry his Body so swimming, as the known depth of his Fathers Jealousies and shallowness of his Fears did require, contemning so far at first his election of *Somerset*, as he was reported either to have strook him on the Back with his Racket, or very hardly forbore it. But who can expect a Prince should prove any thing, considering his Education, much less a Politician ? The last Earl of *Essex* being his Play-fellow, and few Gentlemen of worth, his Council, though many his attendants : It being in no case safe to advise a Prince during the life of his Father, nothing remaining in prudence possible to be said in relation to his safety, but must reflect upon the honour of the King, or the prudence of himself : The smallest intimation in that kind falling (if revealed, and what can youth and folly conceal ?) within the compass of Treason. It is so common with report to rate the sickness or death of Princes at the price of Poyson ; as I should quite have omitted this conjecture, or left it wholly to the decision of Posterity ; though I believe few Kings are by their Servants whose eyes are more fixed upon Hope, which relates to the future, than Gratitude, by the  
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generality of Courtiers declined, as not respecting the present time) so fairly dealt withal at that Article, in which meaner men receive Indulgence from Enemies; had I not heard by many, his Father did dread him, and in particular from Mr. *Primrose*, the Prince's Foster-brother of high esteem with him; and that the King, thought he would not deny any thing he plainly desired, yet it appeared rather the result of fear and outward compliance, than love or natural affection; being harder drawn to confer an Honour or Pardon, in cases of desert, upon a Retainer to the Prince, than a Stranger: From whence it might be calculated a Malignity conceived in his heart against the Splendour of his Son's Retinue; manifested after his death by an injunction to *Charles Duke of York*, and a Command he gave to the Lord Chamberlain of the Kings House, not to suffer any to be enrolled his Son's Servants, without his knowledge. And though this may warrant the Reasonableness of their Judgments who did look upon *Henry* rather as a terrour, than a comfort to the King, yet he did not take any visible notice of the great concourse about him, till by *Archy* his Jester he was called to the observation of it on the Plains about *New-Market*, when he and the Prince parted: few being left with the Father, and those mean Persons, which drew Tears from him; but the passion did not last long, nor he when he had recollected himself, forbear (which might have encreased the Suspicion of the consequence) to reprove the Fellow, who, *being more Scot than Fool*, was able to mind one that filled a wiser room, that it is the Religion of some Nations, but the Custom of all, to Adore the rising Sun, and contemn him at his going down. I confess I did my self question *Archy* long after about it, but he talked though in the Affirmative, so loud and wildly that I was afraid to waken the attentions of the Standers by. This I have heard by divers, that he was after every night they could meet him, tossed like a Dog in a Blanket. The Prince died at *St. James's* having

having in all his Sickness, no Pain but in his Head, being Heart-whole to the last. *Sr. Theodore Meyern* a French Physician and in great esteem would have had him let Blood, but the English did reject the Council as too desperate, in respect of themselves, who might possibly offend no less by his recovery, than Death; Ordinarily imputed to those Physicians that meet with Patients who do not recover after the opening a Vein. I remember *Sr. Walter Raleigh* before his going to *Guiana* (to whom Prince *Henry* was a great Friend, and for whose satisfaction he penned his History, &c.) owned, though not in full words at length, as much in substance as was then every where reported. But when I reach the misfortunes of *Robert Carre*, (if they may be called so, that at the worst exceeded the best his Birth could promise) I may have occasion to say more.

39. In the mean time the reason King *James* was so poorly followed, especially in his Journies, was his partiality used towards the *Scots*, which hung like Horse-leeches on him, till they could get no more, falling then off by retiring into their own Country, or living at ease, leaving all chargable attendance to the *English*. The Harvest of the Love and Honour he reaped being sutable to the ill Husbandry he used in the unadvised distribution of his favours: For of a Number of empty Vessels he filled to compleat the measure of our Infelicity, few proved of use to him, unless such as by reason of their vast runnings out had daily need of a new supply: And amongst these the *Earl of Carlisle* was one of the *Quorum*, that brought in the Vanity of *Ante-Suppers*, not heard of in our Fore Fathers time, and for ought I have Read, or at least remember, unpractised by the most Luxurious Tyrants. The manner of which was, to have a Board covered at the first entrance of the Guests with Dishes, as high as a tall Man could well reach, filled with the Choicest and Dearest viand Sea and Land could afford: And all this once seen and having Feasted the Eyes of the Invited, was in a manner



manner thrown away, and fresh set on the same height, having only this advantage of the other, that it was hot. I cannot forget one of the Attendants of the K. that at a Feast, made by this Monster in excess, Eat to his single share a whole Pie reckoned to my Lord at ten Pounds, being composed of Amber-greece, Magisterial of Pearl, Musk, &c. yet was so far (as he told me) from being sweet in the Morning, that he almost Poysoned his whole Family, flying himself like the *Satyr* from his own Stink. And after such Suppers huge Banquets no less profuse, a Waiter returning his Servant Home with a Cloak-bag full of dried Sweat-meats and Confects, Valued to his Lordship, at more than ten Shillings the Pound. I am cloy'd with the repetition of this excess, no less than Scandaliz'd at the continuance of it. For when the most able Physicians and his own Weakness had passed a Judgment, he could not live many Days, he did not forbear his *entertainments*, but made divers brave clothes, as he said, *to out-face Naked, and despicable Death withal: Blaspheming God* so far in the Person of his *Hand-maid Nature*, as to say *she wanted Wisdom, Love, or Power, in making Man Mortal and Subject to Diseases*; forgetting that if every individual his own Lust had been able to have produced should have Prosecuted an *equal excess* with his, they would in a far *less time* than an *Age*, have brought *themselves* or the *World* in the *same Disease* he died of, which was a *Consumption*. He lay always under the *Comfortable Aspect* of King James his Favour tho' I never found him in his *Bosom*, a place reserved for *Younger Men* and of more *endearing Countenances*: And these went under the *Appellations* of his *Favourites*, or *Minions*, who like *Burning-glasses* were daily interposed between him and the *Subject*, multiplying the Heat of *oppressions* in the *General Opinion*, though in his own he thought they *screened* them from *Reflecting* upon the *Crown*: Through the *fallacy* of which *Maxim* his Son came to be Ruined, it being *unlikely* any Prince should

should abate in the Account of his *People*, that hath no *Bodies Expences* or *Faults* to reckon for but his own. Now as no other Reason appeared in Favour of their Choice but *Handsomness*, so the Love the King shewed was as *Amorously* conveyed, as if he had mistaken their Sex, and thought them *Ladies*. Which I have seen *Somerset* and *Buckingham* Labour to resemble, in the *effeminate*ness of their *dressings*. Though w---- Looks and wanton Gestures they exceeded any part of *Womankind* my *Conversation* did ever cope withal. Nor was his Love, or what else *Posterity* will please to call it, (who must be the Judges of all that *History* shall inform) carried on with *discretion* sufficient to cover a less *Scandalous Behaviour*; for the King's Kissing them after so *Lascivious* a Mode in *Publick* and upon the *Theatre* as it were of the World, Prompted many to imagine some things done in the *Tyring-house*, that exceed my expressions no less than they do my experience: And therefore left floating upon the Waves of *Conjecture*, which hath in my hearing tossed them from one side to another.

40. I have heard that Sir *Henry Rich*, since E. of *Holland*, and some others refused his Majesty's Favour upon those conditions Subscribed to, which filled that Place in his Affection: *Rich* losing that opportunity his curious Face and Complection afforded him, by turning aside and Spitting after the King had Slabbered his Mouth: Who though numbred amongst the Gods upon Earth, yet any that will be so Inquisitive as to rake in his Dust, may find as many frailties as ever Man stood charged with, of which was none of the highest, doubling the weight of his Oppression: For the setting up of these Golden Calves cost *England* more than Queen *Elizabeth* spent in all her Wars.

41. Amongst a number of other Novelties he brought a new Holy-day into the Church of *England*, wherein God had Publick Thanks given him for his Majesties deliverance out of the Hands of E. *Goury*: And  
this

this fell out upon *Aug. 5.* upon which many Lies were told, either at Home or Abroad in the Quire of *St. Paul's Church*, or the long Walk: For no *Scotch-man* you could meet Beyond Sea but did Laugh at it, and the *Peripatetick* Politicians said the Relation in Print did Murder all possibility of Credit. But I will not *wade farther in this Business*, not knowing how Dangerous the bottom may prove, being by all Mens Relations Foul and Bloody; having nothing to palliate it but Jealousie on the one side, and Fear on the other; *too weak supporters* to keep upright so great a—— especially so far as to Ruine a whole and noble Family for a fault known to be committed without the least Question. Now if any thing further deserves consideration, it is the misfortune of Kings, who once lapsed into a publick Errour, cannot recal it, tho' the continuance of it Reflect Dishonour to God; not unpossibly the cause this held out all his Reign. Nor did any Credit his Son gave it, justifie it further than ordinary Report, which in the generality took it for a meer Figment of State, and was Buried with its Author.

42. Nor will the Story of the Lord Treasurer *Buckhurst* fall in unproperly here, who being a very corrupt Man, or much abused, did lay claim to some part of the *Kentish Lucies Land*, that lay contiguous to his own, and mistrusting the Integrity of any other or more Legal Tryal, did by the highness of his Hand bring it to the *Council Table* (where about this time many Causes were shamefully carried, and from whence *the most excellent Chancellor for parts*, that ever sate in that Court, might derive the most Capital of his Faults) and after some debate, the Treasurer standing up and offering to pull out of his Bosom Papers that were pretended for their Lordships full and final satisfaction, he fell down Dead, as called to answer at a higher Tribunal. Neither hath any since, as I have been told by some of the Family, ever questioned *Lucies*



ies Land, in the quiet possession of which he was thus miraculously Estatic. Some years after meeting with the Secretary of *Richard Earl of Dorset* (a Noble Gentleman and of good parts had they not been Poisoned, together with the Owner, by a future Malice and Jealousie in the Duke of *Buckingham* that he was his Enemy) he told me the Treasurer was Subject to Swooning, which happening in a place where there was so little help, it became his Death. He was much given to Women and Corruption, in the general Opinion; after whom these Verses were sent, it being the Fashion of the Poets all my Days, to Sum up Great Mens Vertues or Vices upon their Graves. These with many more to a like Sense belonging to this Man.

*Discourteous Death that would'st not once confer,  
Or deign to parly with our Treasurer:  
Had he been Thee, or if thy fatal Tribe,  
He would have spar'd a Life to gain a Bribe.*

Another.

*Here lies a Lord that Wenching thought no Sin,  
And bought his Flesh by selling of our Skin:  
His Name was Sackville, and so void of Pity,  
As he did Rob the Country with the City.*

43. The Match King *James* made between *Elizabeth* his Eldest Daughter and the Elector of *Rhine*, contrary to the Grain of the Catholick Church, and the desires of her Mother, who looked upon it so much below her, as she could not refrain to call her Good Wife *Palsgrave* before she had put off her Wedding Shooes; Bred at a distance, such a hope in the *Huguenots* that remained yet under Persecution or Restraint, and Pride in those already Emancipated through their Governor's liquorishness after the choice Morsels of the Church, and their own desire to change their manner of Service, (grow foul in their Opinions, an unavoidable result of time: Especially if prompted by more Learning than Discretion) that they Feasted their Imaginations

tions with all the Miraculous Felicities and the deliverance, by the Divers into the deep Mysteries of *Daniel* and the *Revelations* supposed to be reserved in the bottom of all things : *The Fall of the Pope* and those Principalities, adhering to him, appearing as manifestly painted in their Oily Fancies, as the Curious may find them in *H. Broughton*, or the Frontispieces of divers Books, the Zeal of some, and licentiousness of others did then make Publick : Which strook a damp in the *German Casars* affairs, causing the Exchange to go high in the Diets, so as upon the demands of Contribution, though against the *Turk*, a greater Liberty of Conscience was propounded by the followers of *Luther* and *Calvin*, and some suspicion of change feared from those not yet revolted. But however this might work to the disadvantage of our King's Judgment abroad (who was thought to do it to render himself the Umpire of all Christian differences, which he much delighted in, no less than a Confidence he had to bring all to one Conformity, a project not to be cut off but with the head of, &c.) it settled it much in the Opinion of his Subjects, who in the House of Commons did upon all occasions testify their Compliance to this Conjunction. Now whether it was hope or fear according to the Opinion of the Catholics and Politicians, or a supine Carelessness, and desire to be rid of her with the least expence, as all the Ladies Friends suggested, or pure Zeal to Religion, as some Simple People thought, or what was most probable, a composition of all the three first mentioned Passions, induced the King to submit to such mean Conditions I leave to the Reader to Judge : And only observe that, though in relation to Person and Vertue, she might deservedly hold a Room in the greatest Prince's Bed in *Europe* ; yet God hath not hitherto been pleased to afford her any outward Blessing, but a Multitude of Children, of which the Eldest was unfortunately drowned, not without some reproach to the Father,

and

and Diminution of the rest, in the opinion of the People, that do, though not Seldom without cause, over-value any thing irrecoverably lost; and now at last hath cast her into an Ocean of Calamities, in which she still remains a floating Example to other Princes of the Instability of Fortune, as she did in her prosperity for Civility and Goodness. And though none need seek far for reasons why Judgments should fall upon the Children of Princes, yet her behaviour hath been throughout blameless, as amongst the worst Reports the Papists could raise, nothing appears might prove her so great an Actor in ill, as she is found a Patient in Misery: Which makes me in Charity think it rather came by descent than purchase; unless God hath done it that is his Power may hereafter be shewn in raising her to a higher Dignity than she hath already fallen from. And for her Husband he lies under the condition of other Men, who have their apparent misfortunes imputed to hidden and inward defects.

44. It was the Opinion of those Times, that the Elector might have sped better, had he not matched with *England*, whose King was so Timorous, as he suffered all to Perish, for want of a seasonable supply that relied upon his Power: For had his Consort been of a Weaker Alliance, he had refused the Crown of *Bohemia* when it was offered, or upon acceptance been more cordially assisted by his Fellow Princes, already wearied with the Emperor's Oppressions, no less than terrified by an expectation of worse: It being Repugnant to the Mode of a *Spanish* Pride, to rest within the compass of any other Moderation than what is prescribed to him by the Pillars of force, and whereon he finds the Inscription of apparent Necessity, or the Apparition of a future Benefit. But Assistance composed of so many pieces is seldom Successful, and often Dangerous to such as rely upon them: Of which *Charles* the Fifth left a precedent at their own Doors, in the Person of the Duke of *Saxony*, and the *Land-*



*grave van Hesse*, who by interfering in their Councils tripped up the Heels of themselves and a greater Army than *Mauritius*, Son-in-Law to the *Landgrave*, Commanded alone, when he made the same Victorious Emperor, who had together with that Title inclusive in his Person the Kingdom of *Spain*, Crawl over the Alps by Torch-light, and after hide his Head in a Monastery. Yet besides their own neglect, and the great Confidence they had in King *James* (whom they looked upon as engaged by Honour and Nature in the *German Quarrels*, at least so far as the value of the Crown of *Bohemia* extended) they were to seek of a suspicion, that in case the Elector should attain the Imperial Diadem (not possibly to have been denied him upon Success) that with his own force, and the assistance of *Britany*, he might not only have imposed upon the *Lutherans* Consciences (somewhat of a contrary Creed to his) but have left them no Sense of ease in the change. Nor was the Lady *Elizabeth* yet so far removed from a possibility of attaining one day the Crown of *England*, her Brother being not only single, but lying in the Opinions of many under an aversion to Marriage, as might insure suspicion, which can never apprehend Power at distance enough, from those they think may imploy it to the Prejudice of their Liberty who have formerly lain under the Weight of Bondage. Some Parasities cried it up to the height of a Prophetical Wisdom in King *James*, that he would not suffer his Son to be Prayed for in our Churches by the Title of King of *Bohemia*; but clearer Judgments saw it no hard matter to determine of his Fortune, whose good or bad Success lay wholly in his Hands.

45. I have had the most, if not all may be found here, out of Letters, which I ever looked upon as the best and purest intelligence; in one of which I had this inserted; that Prince *Henry* gave the first encouragement to the Prince Elector to attempt his Sister; desiring more, to Head an Army in *Germany*, than he durst

durst make shew of, and would no doubt, have been bravely followed. That his thoughts flew high; hundreds of his Servants are yet in being to Witness, together with the Love he seemed to bear his Sister, before his Brother, whom he would often taunt till he made him weep, telling him *he should be a Bishop*, a Gown being the fittest to hide his Legs, Subject in his Childhood to be crooked. Nor did all this put together lengthen his Life in the desires of many. Besides I have been told that Sir *Walter Raleigh* did mediate his Favour by a Discourse he sent him, proving *no War could be so necessary or advantageous for England, as one with Spain*; alledging for it many Reasons and Examples, as well out of the practice of the late Queen, as his own Experience: No Prince else being able to pay for, or bear the expence of a Royal Navy, which once in a Year he would without Question accomplish by our intercepting some, or most part of the Plate Fleet, all Nations besides being but *Sea Pedlers*. Wherefore if *Philip* the Second cut off his own hopeful and only Son *Charles*, for but pitying the People of *Flanders*; it can be no wonder he should promote the Destruction of a Stranger that did so far applaud the advice of *Raleigh*, as to say, *No King but his Father would keep such a Bird in a Cage*. But to leave this to the Faith of Posterity that shall have not only the opportunity to see, but the Liberty to Judge of the most probability in every Relation; the Actions of Kings being Written in Dark Characters, and relating to so many several ends, as they are not easily deciphered; I shall return the *German* affairs, towards which had *England* contributed proportionably to the Head of an Union, it may be presumed from the King of *Sweden's* success, who had at the beginning no such advantages to rely on, that the eclipsing, if not the Ruin of the House of *Austria* had not been adjourned to so long a Day. And he that shall turn over the Adviser's of those times, may without any Danger, or much trouble

ble find what Opinion the *Germans* had of us, and in how great a disaray it cast their proceedings, when the smallness of the Lord *Vere's* Forces were known ; but when they read a Commission only inabling him to do nothing, they Apprehended themselves, some out of *Malice betrayed*, others that knew the Temper of King *James* better, were so Charitable as to impute it to the true Cause, which was his Fear, upon whose Altar he was not only ready to Sacrifice his present Honour and future Safety, but the Blood of those he Stiles, in all his *Manifesto's*, his *Dearest Children*.

46. For after his Daughter, and the Elector were Crowned King and Queen of *Bohemia*, they lost together with this Shadow all her Substance, and what he was for so many descents Born to, the Palatinate at the Battle of *Prague* : Where few Blows were dealt on the Elector's side, reported to be so mad as to think the Souldier would venture his Life in a Cause where he whom it most concerned was afraid to hazard his Money : It being then too late to spare, when Honour and Fortune lye at the Stake. By which this Miserable Prince did not only lose what he might have possibly gain'd, but most of the Wealth he desired to save : No Passions being observed so incompatible with Success, as when Ambition, like that of *Galba's*, is found in a covetous Nature ; by which the Souldier is not seldom tempted out of Disdain to quit his own Post, and adhere to a Party he never did, till the Discovery of this base Humour, affect so well as that he deserts. Nor is it likely any should prosper (especially in a *Field Expedition*) against the House of *Austria*, that is not as Prodigal of Gold as Blood : It having been the late practice of this wise Nation to obtain Victory through the Mediation of Money and Policy, rather than Strength ; leaving nothing to Fortune but what she must needs : Which may support the validity of their Opinions that think the Spaniard least impregnable at Sea, where he hath neither time nor opportunity to corrupt, &c.



47. *Sr. Richard Weston*, since Treasurer and Earl of *Portland*, was, when they looked for an Army, sent to mediate a Peace: By whose help, according to report, the Electour and his Lady found means, though with much difficulty, to escape to the *Hague* with their new assumed empty Titles, having nothing else to support them but Patience and Hope, the only and ordinary comfort of those deprived of all help besides. Yet I have heard from many (for I delight to set down every probable relation) that they thought *Weston* too far engaged to the Catholicks to be Author of so ungrateful a service. But this being his first Employment, no less than a desire in the Pope to see the power of the Emperour moderated, who began to encroach upon the pretended Immunities of the Church, he might not improbably take this advantage to render his Embassie the more acceptable upon his return to the People of *England*, if not to the King: Persons of their Quality falling seldom under the Sword, and therefore thought perhaps better thrift to maintain them at liberty than in restraint, or redeem them at such a rancome as a Victorious Prince might impose, to the payment of which his Master was engaged in Honour and Nature.

48. However I am more charitable than to conclude all Papists employed by this King so dishonest as to falsifie their trust: For if that followed as a necessary consequence, God help this poor Nation, that had before then, and long after, few commissioned in any affair of Importance, but such as were that way affected, or wholly indifferent. It being the intent of Providence to use his help, it may be, as he did that of *Pharaoh's* Daughter, to preserve this vertuous Lady out of danger, whose Misfortunes have kindled such a fire in *Germany*, as not impossibly, before it be extinguished, may lick up the choicest blood in the *Austrian* Family; of which this seems to me as a sign, that ever since they began some one or other hath prosecuted the like at-

tempt : Amongst whom was Count *Mansfield*, that had little else but his own fortune and valour to carry him so far as he went ; but what he punctually did, or promised to do, was at too great a distance for me to perceive, more than I could learn from the Eccho it made at Court, which sounded diversly, according to the inclinations and hollowness of their hearts that made the reverberation. This I can attest upon knowledge, that *Mansfield* was in appearance well received here : but whether King *James* could like a man that laboured to bring in so Anti-monarchical a Precedent, as to struggle for liberty with his Native Prince, I cannot but question ; who did daily inculcate into the people, through the mediation of his Divines, and by the terrour of the Law, that no other refuge was left in any saving experiment during the unjustest and most cruel Tyranny, but Prayers and Tears ; a Tenet if he had believed himself, or thought such as owned either prudence or power did, he would doubtless have governed much better, or abused the Nation, and debauched his succession much worse : Yet to give a countenance to a business he had so shamefully disparaged before, he sent for the Count over in one of his Ships Royal, which was cast away upon the English Coast ; an example as remote from a Precedent, as for a mighty Prince to be a quiet Spectatour of the ruin of his Family.

Such as were of the Spanish Faction spake most disgracefully of Count *Mansfield* : Forgetting the lower footing they assigned for his rise, the more admirable they proclaimed his dexterity in mounting himself so high ; who at his going from hence was furnished with men and money, the most of them lost before their Landing : Such proceedings being much in use with King *James*, who, like a ready Horse, did often seem to the World as if he meant to run, yet did little more in effect than stand still. But here my Pen is stopped through indisposition ; wherefore I must conclude this under the notion at least of a First Part.

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A  
**MISCELLANY**  
Of Sundry  
**Essays, Paradoxes,**  
AND  
**Problematical Discourses,**  
Letters, and Characters ;  
Together with  
**Political Deductions from the History of the Earl of *Essex*, Executed under Queen *Elizabeth*.**

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To my Vertuous,  
*No less than in all things else*  
Deserving N I E C E,  
Mrs. ELIZABETH DRAPER.

*Dear Niece,*

IT is on all hands confest, that some things here may be thought as unsuitable to my Tears as your Education, (not yet removed from a vertuous Mother,) by those are not acquainted with the external Impulse which makes their Publication to the World unavoidably Necessary, in reference to the preventing a false Impression ; no less than that more Inward of natural affection to you (not knowing but this may be my last opportunity) to do right to Gratitude. So as if any expression here should be of force to make you blush, it would by augmenting you Beauty prove a Good Effect of a Cause at the worst but respectively evil ; and only in reference to such a superlative Goodness as you are endowed withall ; whose Apprehension of Ill results rather from Admonition and Prudence, than Experience or Consent. Faults already become in many ripe for Punishment, being not yet Arrived within the Circle of your thoughts. Wherefore (since the worst can be found in these Papers, if candidly taken, does not come short

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

short of some of the best are daily made vendible,) I desire you to vail your Judgment with Charity, known in remoter Relations so extensive as to cover more Levity than I hope is extant here: Or if bleered by Interest, I should mistake no less in its own desert, than the acceptance of the World, it cannot disparage your Name long; which no doubt will suddenly be changed, and you left free, either to own or reject what is here presented; unless God for the punishment of the present Age will make men unwilling, because unworthy, to approach so much Vertue, and other Excellencies, as are natural in you; the repetition of which would not only call up the blood into your face, but confound mine, were I guilty of half of the infidelity in your Sex, that ignorance, folly, and malice, hath voted to my share: who am so zealous through the mediation of your perfections in the vindication of Women, that I am not only ready to become a Convert, but a Martyr, rather than appear any thing but, Dear Niece,

Your Servant

*FR. OSBORN.*

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## A general Account of what is contained in the Book ensuing.

**T**He Preface.

*An Essay on such as condemn all they understand not  
a reason for.*

*An Essay upon Prov. 8. 30. Give me neither Pover-  
ty nor Riches.*

*A Contemplation of Adam's Fall*

*Sundry Conjectural Paradoxes concerning Reason, Learn-  
ing, &c.*

*A Character of Honour,  
Valour and Cowardice.*

*A Letter to dissuade Mr. — from a Duel.*

*A Letter to Mr. — in hope to dissuade him from going  
a Colonel under Count Mansfield.*

*A Letter to Mr. W. P. concerning Dependences upon  
great men.*

*— Another to the same person.*

*A Copy of Verses to — who had translated Virgil into  
English.*

*A Letter persuading — to marry.*

*Verses upon sundry occasions.*

*A Letter to two Sisters, the one black, the other fair, with  
Verses.*

*A Letter to — after the death of his Lady.*

*An Epitaph on —*

*The Authour's own Epitaph.*

*A Letter to dissuade — from marrying a rich, but ugly  
and deformed —*

*With Verses to the same effect.*

*A Letter in reference to a coy Lady.*

*The Petition.*

*A Character of a debauched Soldier.*

*A Letter to Dr. C. H. Chap. to W. E. of Pem.*  
*With Verses.*

*On a Cook.*

*A Character of an Host.*

*With Verses.*

*Deductions from the History of the Earl of Essex.*

*Essay on Court-factions.*

*Essay, that the condition of men in power is to be guided  
by their servants.*

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THE  
AUTHOR  
TO THE  
READER.

**R**eaders in the generality do not study (especially in reference to *Contemporaries*) what may Benefit themselves, but Blemish the present Author's repute. So as the Pillars of Fame and Protection, that led our Fathers through the Dark Wilderness of Ignorance, into the Glorious Land of the Living, (where they still Inhabit, though under no more Authentick Character than that of Prescription, being in all other Evidences of worth matched, if not exceeded by Younger Men,) are clouded through reproaches, and forced to correspond for the Integrity of every Line by Truth's most capital Enemies, Hypocrisie, Superstition, and Folly: And before such partial and weak Tribunals as are suborned no less than guided by Interest, and an awfull reverence towards the most deformed Antiquity; from whence the Pen (accounted by *Cæsar* a decent Companion for the *Sceptre*) is now become the Bubble of the Rabble: Forgetting that though it may be so in the management of Fools, yet that no vertuous acts can be Registred, or Learning maintained, but through her Mediation: Nor is the Progress of Conjectural propositions to be obstructed, but rather indulged in reference to the Credit of a Nation. The first



## The AUTHOR

first *Idea* often owning the Glory of the whole design, manifest in *Germany*, that may not impossibly stand more obliged for her rare Inventions to the Liberty she gives, and an Indulgence the Inhabitants have for any Novelty; though too weak to extend probably beyond the Fantasie of the first Projector; than any natural fertility inherent in the place, appears in the perfection they receive from more polite Regions; being themselves so far from casting Dirt or Ink in the Face of the Party, that in the case of likelihood they do all lend assistance; contrary to the baser practice of *England*, where if a Spirit be found so prevalent in Reason as to be proof against any Reply, it is usual for the Opposers of Knowledge to impetrate their Revenge from some Weak *Administratour* of the Power of Ignorance.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* was the first (as I have heard) that ventured to tack about, and Sail aloof from the beaten track of the Schools; who, upon the discovery of so apparent an Error, as a *Torrid Zone*, intended to proceed in an inquisition after more solid Truths, till the Mediation of some, whose Livelihood lay in hammering shrines for this Superannuated study, possessed Queen *Elizabeth*, that such Doctrine was against God no less than her Father's Honour, whose Faith (if he owned any) was grounded upon School Divinity: Whereupon she Chid him, who was (by his own confession) ever after Branded with the Title of an *Atheist*, though a known asserter of God and Providence.

A like censure fell to the share of venerable *Bacon*, till over-balanced by a greater weight of Glory from Strangers: Nor could Desert, and the name of the *English Jewel*, given *Selden* beyond Sea, free him from a like imputation at home. Wherefore *Br. Ca. Di. Ho. Ha. Hi. St. Ta.* and a number more that have embellished this doting Age with new notions, may apprehend comfort from this contemplation, that Fame is no less Eternal than Detraction is Mortal. Though it may be thought strange why any farther Prosecution of

Truth

to the READER.

Truth should be persecuted amongst Men not yet fully resolved what it is : When nothing redounded more to the *Protestants* Honour, than the free Passage they have always given to Books of Controversies, whereas the Reading of them is a Mortal Sin in *Rome*, and at best, liable to the Inquisition : Not to be imputed to any thing but the invincible Reason we have on our side, so well manag'd by Mr. *Chillingworth*, as the fluent Mouths of the *Jesuits* were stopped till his Death, and some time after ; there being nothing but Mathematicial Demonstrations able to drive them from the Ambiguous Interpretations they put both upon Scripture and Fathers, behind which the *Papacy* hath for many Centuries played at *Bo-peep* with State and Church. And yet how this poor Man was abused at his Death, is more for the Nation's credit to conceal than Publish. Neither is this Frenzy capable of any real Reformation since those that pretend to a Power of Garbling things brought to the Press, are not all of one and the same Judgment : And from whose divisions new Books run the Fortune of the Middle-Aged Man in the Fable, that became Bald, by an endeavour to gratifie the Humours of Persons inconsiderable for weight or number. I know censures do not fall all within the Circuit of one *Meridian*, yet am as certain, that no Dispute can be maintained, but where half, if not the most curious part, is supported by Conjecture. And that our best Physical Conclusions have been deduced out of mere mistakes, which the World (though never so long lived) is not likely to want, and therefore improbably Proclaimed at her farthest extent of Knowledge : Which if true, few would give, or increase the stipend of Arts ; it being incongruous to expect new Honour from those who confess themselves not able to Augment their own, and so far diffident of an ability to match the Antients, as they take the endeavour not only for impossible, but an high if not a damnable Presumption : Wherefore it suits *University*-Interest to indulge such as  
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bring fresh Notions to their Mill, though smutted with some Errors : It being usual for Wages to cease and an Engine to be neglected, upon the first discovery that the Work is finished : Not to be denied to follow an opposing what is already Arrived to a General acceptance ; especially in an Age when God and the Magistrate lies Blasphemed on every Stall. Nor is the Knavery of obscure Stationers a small Remora to Desert ; that in envy to those of their own Trade, and to Debauch the esteem of Books, do encourage, if not hire, Foul mouthed Ballad-makers to ruffle Dogs-ears, and contaminate, by base Language, and spurious censures, the choicest leaves. Yet the Blasphemers against the Spirit of Knowledge become vendible in reference to their names they pretend in their Title page to confute, sometime the Trade of *Al. Ro.* who used to Skirmish (thought not only Armed with a blunt Quill, but a duller Reason) the Worthies of our Nation by Troops. Nor is it probable any farther attempt upon our *English* Affairs should be purchased cheaper than the Writers prejudice, since so Honest an endeavour as the proving it was the Father that eat the sowre Grapes, and not the Son, whose Teeth were set on edge, is by some so far perverted. Now in reference to this or any thing else may relate to me, if my Years and Infirmities, that stand ready at the Gate to hurry me out of this World, nor the many lines I have drawn suitable to the general phantasies, with a Protestation never to Trespass again upon Love or History, cannot shrowd me from the pelting of Tongues ; Let me Humbly implore this favour of both Sexes, that such as do it, would imitate the candour of a *Carnaval*, wherein (though all *Italy* appear but one entire Bedlam) nothing is thrown, but what favours more of Musk than Malice. But if I am born to be asperfed, I could wish it might be with such Ink as may at least beautifie the Writer, and not contaminate us both ; it being an Injury, though far below the sufferer's Revenge, to be pinched between the nasty Finger and Thumb of a Brawny



to the Reader.

Brawny Ignorance: Which hightens greatly the obligation to him that for my sake undertook so unworthy an Antagonist, whose want of a true Knowledge of me hath led him into as great an excess in reference to my Commendations, as the like defect may not possibly have exposed me to a censure of ungratitude, or made me (as verily I believe I am) too sparing in his, a fault I promise to amend upon the least intimation of an occasion.

Now being compelled to own what follows, or to venture the having it laid at my Door, with all the Imperfections so many Adulterated Transcriptions have Deformed it with, I thought it less Dishonourable to trespass upon Gravity, (a Defect in Nature, or at best but a Ceremony resulting from the *Morosity of Age*,) than to offer Violence to Prudence, (the most signal advantage deducible from Time,) by denying my Hand to the amendment of a surreptitious Copy, which I verily believe my Youth (though foolish enough) was not in probability likely to have been Guilty of, yet must have had my abilities now measured by it: For the sufficiency of which I shall not Correspond, having been led through necessity and others persuasions, rather than my own, to think that though they are out of Fashion with me, they may become decent for others to follow or avoid. Being in every respect else a mere Patient, and no other ways active than at the Request, and for satisfying the Stationer, to whose care I leave you, without any other Complement, than that *the loss will not be great to the buyer, nor the shame much to me*, should they prove Waste Paper, as I ever till now esteemed them. And in Answer to those that shall think some expressions here too serious to face such as stuff as comes after, they may be pleased to know I did at first intend to insert some notions which discretion hath since thought inconvenient.

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T H E



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# THE PREFACE.

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## The PROEM.

**I**F, contrary to the Mode of such as lose their Thoughts in the open Air where they were conceived, I have with more Diligence registred Mine, it was out of no Opinion they deserve a longer life, but to prevent Idleness, with a Concourse of some more Tedious, if not Sinful, which in the Vacancy of Employment are apt to intrude themselves under pretence of a more ancient and Familiar acquaintance: Nor can I yet find cause to repent of the pains, since it hath confirmed me in this Truth, that the World is not the worse, nor my self much better, for Age and Continuance. From whence I have learned, (though I confess, none more apt to forget) not to complain of Governours for their Oppression, or upbraid Youth with its Vices, since in the best Times Tyranny hath been moderated, rather through Fear than Goodness, as the most seemingly Holy do at the highest but palliate, not divest their humane Infirmary. And from hence we may be taught with St. Peter, not to call any thing Polluted or Defiled, all men at long-running meeting with the same Market, either in reference to their own depraved Will, or Performance: Wherefore I should conclude, (considering my own and others visible lapses,) that Sanctity lies more in Repentance than Innocency; which is the chief advantage, if not all the difference discernible between those we term Wicked, and the Just. Now if any one (a thing I have formerly been very chary of) shall read these Papers under the

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the notion of Approbation, he can no more make me proud, than such as dispraise them angry; (it being the guise of all to applaud those of their own Opinion;) of which there is none more mine, than that every thing is of a mixed nature, carrying a Face like that in a pleated Picture, suitable to the situation and light the Beholder stands in, or is guided by.

And in reference to one over-severe, I may have this to say, that not a few now wiser than us both, have pleased themselves as much in drawing Anticks with a Coal upon a Wall, as others do in their endeavours to match Apelles. All I seek is to find employment for a Spirit that would break the Vessel, had it nothing to work upon but it self: Nor is it less true, That I might justly be blamed for some things here, had more time been employed about them than God in his mercy, or to punish my former negligence, hath afforded me liberty to spare, who can be accountable to Posterity for nothing in this kind, being from my Birth incapable to receive the rich Talent of Learning, looked upon as the only Key of Knowledge; which if obtained had been little advantage, since I want a memory wherein to hoord up what I had stoin; and so the acquired Groat might not impossibly have spoiled and adulterated the more natural Shilling: Wherefore If a Chymistery might be found, able to extract any thing useful towards the conduct of Man out of such ordinary Simples as these, they were highly to be esteemed; and in likelihood more suitable to every Taste, as fresh gathered from the Tree of Experience, than those sophisticated by the Schools, or of a narrower Interest than that of the whole Society of Man.

And if any draw benefit from these, they are most likely to be Friends; it being only the property of Love, to look upon that with delight, which cannot be discovered to another without shame. And to such I could be content to leave them, as the Idea of a Mind was no less cordially employed in advancing the Good of others, than of my Patience in receiving injuries from the same hands. This is not said to wound Providence under the shadow of Fortune, since I have hitherto not only been blest beyond my Desert, but Expectation,



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and have seen my unnatural Oppressours perish and languish through as miraculous means as I have been preserved, and by which I am brought to the contemplation of higher and more permanent Pleasures, than the poor and despicable consideration of Profit is able to reach. Nor could any contrary Endeavour of mine, hide this from the Eyes of the World, to whose Judgment I was for a long time not so impudent, or imprudent, as to present more of my Self than I must needs; because Experience still finds her in the Arms of Curiosity and Prejudice, into whose Den, though I have been of late cast, (by what hand of Fate I know not, and so as it were blindfold,) yet I have come off with more Favour, from before this Tyrannical Tribunal, than divers known of far greater Desert.

Nor should I, but for a through Essay of my own Fortune, and the Reader's Candor, venture such Stuff as is likely to follow, which, though produced long since, I am not able to better now; and, if capable of Acceptance, the World is not likely to want it.

But it is contrary to my own Aphorism to debauch what I present, by saying it was writ before I was Twenty, from whence would result such an easie inference, that surely I am no Wiser now, (which I wish heartily I were able to confute,) else I should mend, or conceal them: Nor can I think it Wisdom or Convenience to say they were produced in a shorter space than Nature requires in the production of Rarities, though not seldom casual; (as I observed in a Flint presented to King Charles, that bore the perfect Figure of a Man,) it being the Custom of some Heads to afford the greater Reason the less they are Pumped; such as is clearest, running commonly quickest, and most fluent, whereas the Deeper requires straining, and so becomes heavier, and of a less Sprightful taste. I will not say mine is of that Temper, to avoid Prejudice; nothing being held in Esteem is easily come by. Wherefore having found so many Condemned upon the Evidence they bring against themselves in Print, I have Laboured to conceal my Name; esteeming it more Pleasant (if not more natural) to Beget, than Father:

But

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But finding it as impossible to hide, as it is unsuitable to my present condition to be Idle, and no less than unbecoming Civility to neglect the Importunity of such Friends as desire a Publication of this Piece, (which being a mixture of all things, may not improbably, like the huge Dishes now in Fashion, Feast the Appetites of some one or other) I shall once again venture into the Press (as too many do) more out of Confidence than Wit. Yet let my defects be what they will, I have ever considered it as a flatulent impertinency to court the Reader, or think to raise a Party in the behalf of any thing wears not the indubitable Character of Reason and Truth. Against which, Ignorance and Hypocrisie have maintained so long and unnatural a Rebellion, as Security is no other way attainable, but by Silence, or Compliance. The continual Wrestlings against a Rational Evidence having brought the World into so mutilated and unsteady a Creed, as in many places, she is observed to halt between the uneasy ways of Hope and Fear. The Contemplation of which doth so stagger such as delight in Painting their own Opinions upon Paper, that they know not what side to take, out of a dread to fall under the notion of Traitors, Malignants, Atheists, or Fools. And, amongst others, this may pass for a Cause, why these (formerly looked upon as Waste Sheets, have received this Resurrection out of the Dust, it being in ill Times safer to appear wanton than serious; or, like Brutus, a Fool than a Censure. Of what is in me I make as good use as I can, but hate to borrow any thing, being more willing to appear with all my defects about me, than glorious and splendid through the Spoils of others. Under the same odium (in my conceit) lies a supercilious gravity, by which I should interrupt all Commerce with those of my own Coat, and expose my self to the Judgment of some more wise, who cannot but see through that unnatural Veil the poorness of the Trash is carried under it; there being really no nakedness, but in relation to others, since all have the Patience to look upon their own imperfections without Blushing. Which the oftner it is done, the better may be Learnt how to prize others, and value our selves; there appear-

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ing no way readier to demonstrate to a Man his particular Weakness, than by admitting him full leave to try his Strength. Wherefore so long as no Body saw me, I was not capable of blame, if wanting the Engines of Learning, I endeavour'd to shake the Pillars of the Schools: For though the attempt is not very likely to afford any Benefit to others yet I cannot but remain the stronger for it, and the more agile my self, as such do that swing, though the Beam stirs not at which they Tug, it being natural to honest Labour, still to be followed by Wisdom or Reward: For, though the generality of Readers are scandaliz'd at all is not mouldy through Age, or gilded with Novelty; yet I remember to have heard from Sir William Cornwallis, (esteemed none of the meanest Wits in his Time) that Mountaign's Essays was the likeliest Book to advance Wisdom, because the Author's own Experiences, is the chiefest Arguments in it: For, as St. Austin saith of short and holy Ejaculations, that they pierce Heaven as soon, if not quicker, than more tedious Prayers; so I have reaped greater Benefit from concise and casual Meditations on several Topicks, than long and voluminous Treatises, relating merely to one and the same thing; many Scholars being of so vast an extension in the Prosecution of any (thought but a seeming) Error, as they will leave no Argument unurged, be it never so weak; forgetting that a Triumph is easier obtained, than a Victory so discreetly moderated, as may give no occasion to think it either tedious, or oversevere, it being a Work impertinently superfluous, to give two blows where one may suffice: This is the cause that only such are esteemed that bring the strongest Reasons, and commit the smallest waste upon the Reader's time, or the Adversary's repute: Nor are any to be commended as Civil or Wise, that prosecute a contrary Practice, too frequent amongst us, where the abuse of the Person is clinched and riveted so close with the confutation, as unquestioned Charity is not seldom lost in the vindication of a more dubious Truth; and from hence I have taken occasion to calculate the Meridian of such hot Heads, as can suffer no Opinions but their own to stand quietly by them, forgetting there is as much variety in the dis-  
semblances



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semblances of Men's minds, as Experience and Commerce do observe in their Bodies; which may conclude it as great folly to condemn one of a contrary Judgment, as to implead another, because his Nose is shorter or longer than theirs; nor is it in the reach of any thing but restraint to make People, unanimous no less against the Freedom of Nature, than it is suitable to Custom and Experience, to find the contrary in Practice, where all are left to their own Election; as manifest in wise Greece and Rome, as in those Nations esteemed both by them and us more Barbarous: Nor can it but be reckoned amongst the Causes of the Catholicks Unity, that every one may address their Prayers to what Saint they please.——Now to vindicate my self from their folly, esteem the foulest of their Writings a fit Copy for the World, whose Heads-ach like Jupiter's, till delivered of those Pallas's, though so flat and deformed, as if conceived in their Thumbs.

I may safely say, that heretofore, (however it is with me now, grown perhaps through Custom more Impudent) I was not ambitious to appear in Publick, since some of my acquaintance can attest, that divers Pieces, of late Published, were long ago as complete, as ever I have been able to make them since; the first Cause of their Projection, being rather for the intent to *While* myself, than to *Busie* others. Nor shall I prosecute this Trade, longer than it continues acceptable to the Generality, and beneficial to the Stationer, whose operation hath been more effectual in this Midwifery, than any delight I can take in finding my self rated according to the value of every Judgment, commonly forestalled by Opinion, a far nearer Friend to things of this Nature, than the highest Desert, at the Foot of whose Tribunal I should never have fallen, but to Redeem the World out of a common Error, by shewing Men are not so unhappy in the absence of Learning, as Scholars pretend, whose first Question is, *What University* you are of? And their last, if answered, none: For then they consider the Party as irrational, and below Conversation, forgetting, that though Books may produce a few rough Materials, it is only in the Power of Experience, and Natural Parts, to build up and Burnish a perfect Man.

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*Essay on such as Condemn All they  
understand not a Reason for.*

**T**Heir Presumption is no less uncivil than Prodigious, that, having nothing else to Warrant them but a pettish and solitary Opinion of their own, will undertake to Arraign the Truth of all they cannot Apprehend, or is not quite Arrived within the perfect Cognizance of their Reason, and by this Impudence do not only Proclaim themselves Judges of the present understandings, but present the scanty measure of their own, as an unquestionable Standard for all may Succeed ; forgetting to what base Offices they have put such Conceits and Results to, upon a more serious Consideration, which at their first conception they esteemed Authentick and not misbecoming the Cabinet of a Prince. And if thus capable of deceit from themselves, what security are they able to give for the spurious censures they pass upon others, that one day they shall not be taken off from Wisdom's File, and some more True and Honourable placed in their room, to the Eternal Infamy of such as are scandalized at any thing, formerly a Stranger in the Schools : Nor is this Humour the Continent of a less Malignity than what hath been capable heretofore, (nor is it less busie now) to obstruct, and discourage all farther Prosecution after Knowledge, by branding Reason with an Imputation of Atheism : And hanging what they understand not, under the notion of Witchcraft, as *Foster*, a Country Parson, did the Weapon-salve, against which he conjured up not only the Fathers, School-

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men, &c. but (so far as his weak Talent could extend) did suborn Philosophy to attest against her self. Nor had this mad Duel between him and Dr. Loyd, (who being both of no great Strength, did weaken the Nation's repute abroad) been parted, but that Authority (to vindicate the usual cure of the *King's Evil* from being an Operation of the Devil) did step in betwixt them, the first gaining the Opinion of as high an Impudence for beginning, as the other did of folly, for maintaining so impertinent a Quarrel.

It was the custom of King *James* (and a question, of no small improvement to his understanding) to discourse during Meals with the Chaplain that said Grace, (or other Divines) concerning some point of Controversy in Philosophy; and falling one day upon Atheism, he did by undeniable Arguments maintain, *No Man could be found so irrational, as to deny a first Cause,* (which could be no other than that Power we call God,) and therefore no such thing in Nature as an Atheist.

What his Judgment was of Witchcraft, you may in part find by his Treatise on that Subject, and Charge he gave the Judges, to be Circumspect in condemning those, committed by Ignorant Justices, for Diabolical Compacts: Nor had he concluded his Advice in a narrower Circle (as I have heard) than the denial of any such Operations, but out of Reason of State, and to gratifie the Church, which hath in no Age, thought fit to explode out of the Common Peoples minds an apprehension of Witchcraft; the greatest Miracles now extant, making their Apparitions in the Dark Corners of this Clouded Imagination, into whose Cause I shall not presume farther to peep, as esteeming it more dangerous than terrible; yet for the better Vindication of such Innocents, as are daily observed to pass out of this Back-Gate of Injustice to another World, (whose Posterns are the Ignorance of Judges, and Folly of our Laws) I will here relate a Story of my own Know-



Knowledge, which if too weak to refell this common Error, cannot be divested of Strength enough to persuade more Discretion and Charity, than is ordinarily employed in the Tryal of such poor Creatures that are first made mad, as *Solomon* saith, through Poverty and Affliction, and after hanged for being no better advised than to confess what they never did, or any Flesh and Blood was ever able to do.

Sir *Humphry Winch*, (none of the least honest and conscientious itinerant Judges of his Time,) was in the Northern Circuit presented with this Evidence against three silly Women, that they had out of propense Malice, not only bewitched divers Cattle and Children to Death, but the principal Cause of their Commitment arose from the Son of a Gentleman that was supposed to have laid divers Months under their Fascination, who at certain times would contract his whole Body within the compass of a Joyned-stool, and write in Hebrew and Greek Characters, though not known to be Skilled in those Tongues; That a Spirit came then into him, sent by these poor Wretches, by which he was so Tormented, as he did in his Fits Foam at the Mouth. Nor was there a greater and more probable Evidence wanting; for that Night the Judges entred the Town, one of the Witches did privately desire the Goaler to bring her into a Room by her self, where without any compulsion (a thing not omitted by our Witch-finders) she told him she used a Familiar, together with the rest, and that they joyned to bewitch the said Boy; but did humbly beseech him her Fellows might not know it, nor she be returned to the same Lodging, for fear they should Torment her; and within few Hours dyed. Now upon the Keeper's Evidence and others of like Nature, the two were found Guilty, and Condemned to be hanged; but under this Proviso, that in case they continued obstinate in the denial of the Fact, the Sheriff should remand them back, where

where they were to live till the Progress, which was to be Northward that Summer. The King being gratified by nothing more than an opportunity to shew his dexterity in discovering an Imposture, (at which, I must confess him the promptest man living) upon his Arrival convented the Boy; where before him (possibly daunted at his presence, or terrified by his Words) he began to falter, so as the King discovered a fallacy, and did for a farther confirmation send him to *Lambeth*, where the Servants of *George Abbot* did in a few Weeks discover the whole deceit, and he was sent back to his Majesty before the end of the Progress; where upon a small entreaty he would repeat all his Tricks often-times in a day; nor did he do and suffer all this for a more serious Cause, than to prevent a present Whipping, and avoid going to School. Amongst other Pranks he lived in an Ortyard a Week upon Apples only.

I shall make no Paraphrase, nor pursue the Argument farther, to avoid *Prolixity* no less than Offence. The Doctrine of such, &c. being a *Diana*, out of which no small profit is made, and credit purchased in reference to Opinions, otherwise Ridiculous and untenable.

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*Prov.*

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 Prov. 8. 30.

*Give me neither Poverty nor Riches.*

**F**ROM this wise King's Prayer we may learn the danger that resides in these two Gulphs, Poverty, and Riches; the latter alluring no less to Pride, than the first tempts, if not compels, towards Atheism and Infidelity; both gathering strength and aggravation from the complexion and education of the Patient; so as if Abundance proves the Lot of a mean birth, and Want, the Companion of one bred in Plenty and Eminence, it elevates the first as far above the Sphere of Moderation, as it dejects the other below the Centre of Patience; Pride despising God's Power, no less than Poverty distrusts it: For as a perfect and harmonious Joy comes nearest to that Pleasure and Content assured us in Heaven, so anxiety and discontent are a representation of Hell, Melancholy being the worst of Humours, because the Devil's, (if he may be thought to participate of any,) who apprehends all ill about him, and cannot but despair of better: Wherefore Poverty must be allowed the most dangerous condition, because infested with all those prodigious effects this Diabolical Passion is liable to produce; which are, in a manner, all we do in this World either punish or admire, Sin being a result of Want; from whence it becomes so far more Illegal than Unnatural, as St. Paul owns the Law for the most manifest Original, and exactest measure of his prevarications.

I know Abundance hath been by good men prized below Want, when offered to be made the Wages of Iniqui-



Iniquity ; though none, besides our Saviour, was ever found able to grapple with the enemy of mankind, being hungry and in want, as he was in the Wilderness ; which remains none of the weakest effects left us of his Divinity, and rather inserted as a Mark of his own power, than an Example for our imitation : Yet such Monastical persons as endeavour to come nearest to it, have enough to satisfy, though possibly not to pamper Nature ; the Name of Voluntary hope of Merit, and the worldly respect it brings, bearing most of the charges belonging to it : Nor have they Wives and Children, which looked through, do like Opticks multiply the Bulk of Want.

When others (not wilfully) sick of this loathsome Plague, as if it were infectious, are not only forsaken of all, but exposed to the Tyranny of every hand desires to oppress them, Law it self, (a Friend to all else) being so heavy an Enemy to the poor Beggar, as it seeks to discharge the Commonwealth of them, with no less industry than the Physician doth the Body of man from Humours putrid and noxious to its health. I know some make a Trade of Want, and by it are able to live, not only idly, but in an unbridled luxury ; whereas those here meant consume their bodies by labour, or, which is more painful, in the Study of the Mind, yet cannot obtain so much as to purchase Bread sufficient to stop the mouths of their Family from barking at Heaven, and tearing God under the Veil of Fortune, for pouring upon others without limitation what is denied to them in the meanest proportion. Indeed the Ancient Stoicks, no less than the more Modern Divines, have, and do still, continue their endeavours to vindicate this unequal distribution from the tincture of Partiality, but have in my mind left it more ambiguous ; only our Saviour, in his Answer penned for *Dives*, seems (no less than in other places of his Gospel) to assign Heaven merely for an Inheritance to such as want here, and Hell for those that abound ; as he that makes the words,

cannot

cannot but imagine, nor dare I apply the Figure of Hyperbole to any saying of his: Which, exactly weighed, is but a Salvo for a Mistake, an indefinite Number, or Quantity suiting better the Mouth of an Ignorant Man, than the immense Knowledge of our Blessed Redeemer. Wherefore (under the correction of a more perfect light) I think the Simile of a Camel, (or Camel) and the Eye of a Needle, justly and mathematically proportioned to the salvation of a rich Man, who is incapable of it, without a more miraculous Extension of the mercy of our Maker, than is by himself best known to suffice such as in this World have not enjoyed so much plenty.

And that an observation of the Law is not enough, seems to appear by Christ's bidding him that had done it, *to sell all that he had, &c.* as the thing most acceptable to God.

Wherefore I could wish, that this Tithing the Mint and Cummin of others Errours and Opinions were not so nicely performed, and Charity, with her Concomitant Probity, (the whole performance of the Commandments,) so quite neglected: Which no doubt is the great occasion of so much Indigence as may be observed now, and so contrary to that in Christ's Time, as it rather hinders than facilitates the ways to Heaven: So it appears, that the Devil himself had never experimented so much power in any person as was able to resist the temptation of Misery, and Want, till he met with *Job*; which gave him the boldness to wage (as it were) with God, that in case he removed the Hedge his Love had placed about him, he would curse him to his Face.

Wherefore it cannot be esteemed a slight provocation was the greatest Man's Enemy could invent: Had he only touched his Health, the means of Recovery might have remained; but his Livelihood being lost, nothing continued but lean Patience; far too weak wholly to ward this Blow, though it may dissemble the taking it, or cover the Wound for a season.

It is no less wholesome than decent to travel on Foot with a Horse in thy hand, but to be destitute of a like ease tedious ; wherefore *Seneca* may make Demonstration of Wit, and prescribe Rules for the more quiet enduring of Penury, but deserves the less credit, because writ at a time when himself had occasion to use more Moderation than Patience ; which makes me believe his Mind (together with the rest of the Puritanical Stoicks) was far averse from their Doctrine, since a decent frugality, out of the Society of a more sordid covetousness, could not have accumulated so immense a Treasure as *Tacitus* reports was found about him ; yet concludes his Documents with a peremptory advice, rather to die than abide in so little ease as this, and far less intolerable earthly inconveniences are observed to bring with them ; which indeed were more to the purpose, could Christianity make use of this his last Receipt, who is prescribed by her Institutes to ride it out, although the Stream of its Inconveniences runs never so strong against the Nature of Man ; so as if God had set any lower precipice at the bottom of the Leap, than eternal damnation, I think none so pusillanimous, as would not rather once take it, than to remain still under the Weight of so heavy and unfociable a Calamity, that produceth all things hurtful or hateful to Nature : For when God mans out his Hosts, the Poor are found in the Forlorn Hope, and Famine takes up her Head Quarters under their Roof ; Nor doth the Pestilence find a more convenient place to hatch her Malignities in, than the Bosom of the Indigent ; and when the Sword is so noble as to spare him, it is not so much out of Mercy as Contempt, he being in this only happy, that his condition is not in a capacity to become worse, no more than in any great probability of amendment ; since in a general Felicity, he only is unhappy, because Want renders her Owners incapable of Trust, by creating Suspicion before any fault is committed ; for where necessity abounds, there Theft and



and Deceit are supposed, as an infallible consequence: When a Felony, or Murder, is committed, the next Poor Houses are ordinarily searched. *Where the less is found of their own, the greater suspicion is conceived of what belongs to others*; and so loathsome is a Beggar esteemed, as he that is so charitable as to make him drink, is yet thus uncivil towards him, as to shut the door, and wash the cup after him; as if it were impossible for a Person in want, either to be true, or wholesome, being shunned of the Herd, as one struck by the severest arrow of his Maker's vengeance, and left nothing to accompany him but Misery: Yet none may possibly apprehend him so wretched as he thinks himself, being for the most part deprived not only of terrestrial, but future Comforts; for conscious of Ill, (as what means hath he of living by, or doing any thing else but Evil?) through Death (the only way to lead him out of his transitory misery) he apprehends one prepared for him that is eternal. The Indigent person, like the flying Fish, being not only persecuted in his own Element by those more mighty, but upon leaving it falls into their terrible claws, to whom is assigned the Dominion of the Air; this Cross having wrought so strongly with some Complexions, as to purge away all Belief of Providence, and revive that old damnable Opinion of a double Nature in God. Now though our blessed Saviour is not found above twice to sustain his Followers a miraculous way, and that in the Desert, where Nature failed; yet, by making the Rich to divide with the Poor, he supplied that Defect this uneven Distribution occasions in the World. And that no small stress of Christian Wisdom lay in it, may seem to appear in the severer punishment inflicted by St. Peter (in many places styled the Prince of the Apostles) upon *Ananias* and *Saphira*, than ever was observed to attend such as whipped, stoned, and persecuted Christ; not only his own person, but that of his followers: Wherefore if those thus set upon do daily fall into Heterodox O-

pini-

pinions, or are not seldom observed to hang up their shield for Faith in the Temple of Despair, and convert the Study of unrewarded Vertue into the more thriving opportunities Deceit affords; they ought to receive pity from us, because liable to the like lapses our selves, who through Excess are found to rob the Poor, more than Necessity dares do the Rich, out of fear of the Iron-teeth of the Law, in all Nations far more severe than those of Christ; who, by not reproving his Disciples for taking the ears of Corn, gives the hungry belly a larger Charter in the enjoyment of earthly blessings, than the Tyranny of Power is willing to subscribe; it being no small augmentation of the Need's misery, and one of the greatest torments in Hell, to see all Plenty about him and want within. To conclude all farther Discourse on this Tragical calamity, I shall say, (but not peremptorily,) if *Sampson* found Mercy that destroyed himself for the gratification of his Revenge, what reason is there in denying it to these upon the greater Provocation of want?

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## *A Contemplation on Adam's Fall.*

**S**UCH as think God's first Injunction trivial, in prohibiting *Adam* to eat of the forbidden fruit, and the temptation to break this Commandment easie to be avoided do not consider that Man in his Innocency had no use of any external thing but Meat, nor other capacity of improving his Intellects, save in Knowledge; a desire so diffused throughout the whole mass of humanity, that such as are too weak to apprehend Reason of State, will prie into the Causes of their Landlords actions, or, that failing, raise Tumults amongst themselves by a too near inspection and *Revelation* of the news of each others miscarriages; & this being the most universal Humour now, may render it more probable to have been the same did accompany Man at the first, Nature remaining depraved, not eradicated: Wherefore this Prohibition was placed, according to Prudence, upon that side our Parents were weakest on, and so more fit to receive caution; for had God forbidden them Theft, or Murther, they could not have apprehended his meaning, nothing but Will, corrupted by passion, being able to bring forth such uncouth sins into action, which having once fallen within the compass of Experience, they, by consequence, came within the notion of Knowledge, nothing being yet presented to their imaginations but what was already arrived within the circuit of their senses. The first Man appearing to me no better furnished with Knowledge than an Infant in his Primitive Innocency, but that his Organs being made perfect, he was capable to apprehend all things with the same Dexterity, his senses



ses were able to feed his Fansie ; which they might  
 take so much pleasure, (since nothing is more tasteful  
 to Humanity than Understanding,) that to make this  
 Spring of Knowledge more fluent, he swallowed the  
 Apple, the Fountain of his Infelicity, which, in stead  
 of gratifying his Taste and Desire, depraved both.  
 If he gave Names to the Creatures suitable to the sin-  
 ful Use was after to be made of them, he did not only  
 prophesie their future miserie, but his own ; and if  
 foreseen, why did he not prevent it ? Wherefore the  
 fault must lie either upon his Ignorance, or Will ;  
 for till his Fall he seems to have as little need of the  
 Elephant's Docility, or the Ox's Industry, as it is im-  
 probable but that they were both made for Employ-  
 ment ; which had been quite lost, together with all the  
 Trades the Blessing [of Encrease and Multiply] is  
 sustained by, had not *Adam* fallen from his Original  
 Integrity. This makes me wonder to find *Eve* willing,  
 or at leisure, to chat and gossip it with the Serpent, the  
 most remote in Symmetry, from her own glorious  
 Form, if not in Nature, from her temper and com-  
 plexion, especially having so much the more excellent  
 and adapted Companion as her Husband near her to  
 converse with : Which might give credit to their Opini-  
 on, that the Fall was long after the Transgression ;  
 but that the impossibility of her conceiving a contami-  
 nated Issue, whilst pure in themselves, offers more than  
 a probable confutation ; it not being likely they should  
 forget, for any considerable time, to neglect one of  
 their principal Errands, which lay in performing the  
 Blessing of Diffusing his Like ; the most Rational  
 Cause such can produce, as attribute their Prevaricati-  
 on to an excess in Concupiscence, through which the  
 Tree growing in the midst of the Garden became con-  
 taminated. But to bury this Conjecture, (no less  
 than the Opinion of *Josephus*, " That the Serpent  
 had, together with all Creatures else, before the  
 Fall, an articulate voice) in the more certain Relati-  
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tion of *Moses*, (though in nothing more concise, and abstruse than about the beginning ; not unpossibly that he might preserve Truth, at the least Prejudice, to Tradition ; in the preservation of which the People of God were extreme if not superstitiously tender) I shall modestly propose, that if the Serpent was really active in the seducing of Man, (as may seem to appear by the Curse laid upon him, no less diffusive, in reference to this World, than ours, it reaching the whole species, observed at this day to crawl upon the ground,) whether we may not infer, that this now despicable Creature was the first that went about to infringe the Ordinance of God, since those that make the Serpent only instrumental to the Devil's activity, borrow it from Conjecture, not Reason, which was never observed to punish the Sword, but the Hand that did manage it to destruction : Wherefore if it was the Devil's Sin, nothing but the Serpent's consent in making it self instrumental could procure a Punishment, no more than to the Winds that through his icitation, destroyed the Children of *Job* : Which put together may crowd a room for this Conjecture, that the Devil possessed the Serpent with Envy first, at so Glorious a Creature as Man was, and after gained its consent to be Instrumental in our destruction, and so a Co-operator with Satan, and a Fellow in his Sin : For if it be thought unpossibile the Serpent should do so ungrateful a service to humane Nature upon its own instigation, it appears as unreasonable, why it should bear all the Penalty, the Devil having augmented, if not begun in his Rebellion against his Maker, by seeking to Destroy this his Handy-work.

These seeming contradictions, together with the Appellation of an Evening and a Morning before the Luminaries (the only Dividers of Time) were made, might tempt *Philo*, the Jew, to dress, in the Life of *Moses*, the Story of the Creation in an Allegory or Fable, who standing nearest those Times, and a better

light

light, may be thought, by such as to be Sceptical, most probable; but since the Ancient and Apostolical Church (to whose Creed, so far as my darker Infidelity will give me leave, I shall submit my Judgment in all Humility) hath accomodated it to another Sense, I think it as far from Prudence as Christianity to oppose or in the least contradict it, though apt to consent, that the lapsed Angels might entertain more commerce upon Earth before the Promise of our Saviour, and whilst Man stood upon his own Legs, than after God had taken him into his Protection, as not thinking it meet to trust such frailty with so potent an Enemy. Wherefore he confined the Devil into holes, and obscure places, out of which, upon his own instigation, or imitation of the Prophets of the Lord, he gave his ambiguous Oracles, till by the brighter apparition of the Star of *Jacob* they were struck as irrecoverably dumb, as they were Blind before; averred by *Plutarch* in his *Morals* in the *Genius* or Ghost of *Socrates*. And he that would find a reason why our first Parents were ashamed of their nakedness, must not seek it in the Nature they conveyed to us, where Bashfulness is a result of Custom, but from the contemplation of some Creature then in sight, really, or seemingly, more Beautiful than themselves; there being no occasion for Shame, but in respect of a more transcendent perfection; it remaining indubitable, that Children with us, and Men and Women amongst the *Indians*, (not to be denied the exactest followers of the primitive Dictates of pure Nature,) are no more sensible of Shame in relation to those Parts *Adam* and *Eve* are said to have covered, than the *Europeans* express, when found barefaced; Blushing being a silent confession of a fault, not to be found amongst the Works of God, nor any where, till the Law had stamped the Figures of Reward and Punishment upon such humane Actions as do advance or depress the general Felicity; Custom being so exact a Disposer of the Conveniency, if not



Consent of Mankind, as to make divers Wives in *Turky* lie quietly under one and the same Covering: So as it requires more than an Ordinary Intelligence to distinguish between the Free Government of Nature, and the Imperious Tyranny, if I may not call it Anarchy, (for it is in all places alike,) of Education. But lest I should appear rather a Disciple of *Plato* than *Moses*, I shall pass by the Rabbies, no less than the Modern Philosophers, that consume more time in Hunting after the Original of the Disease, than the means to cure it, not to be found but in *Jesus Christ*; yet, as I said before, since no Heart is empty of the Humour of Curiosity, the Beggar being as attentive in his Station to an improvement of Knowledge, as the Prince, it is not unlikely to have been the Primary and Centrical Sin, from whence the Lines of all humane Vanities are drawn, and to which they are fastened: For if our latter Artists think it no ill Argument to prove the Basis of the Earth Magnetical, because the Loadstone is in all Climates found, why may it not be concluded from as great a Diffusion, that a too dilated desire of Inspection into things was Original Sin, since not only observable in *Solomon* himself, but in the Picture of the Fool he draws, who ran after Variety, which is only New Knowledge of a Strange Woman, and, if I am not deluded by those more Learned, one Word in the Original is taken for Both? But to proceed: When *Eve* saw the Fruit she did covet, and Concupiscence is enough now to Condemn us, though not then, the Text placing the Transgression in Eating, not Desiring, that remaining impossible to be prevented, all things, till contaminated by Sin, being in so high a degree of perfection, as they did enforce a coveting in all did behold them, "It appearing too low a Sacrament of Duty in Man, the supreme Vice-gerent of the Almighty, to have for a Testimony of Obedience, only abstained from what was in it self but merely indifferently good.

It is not likely he covered his Nakedness with Leaves of the same Tree from whence he gathered his Destruction, as those imagine who suppose the Indian Fig to be the forbidden Fruit; for how should he dare to touch that a second time, had wounded him at first quite through himself and his Posterity? Though confessed a perfect Representation of Guilt; one Root being so Diffusive, as by a Gum that distils from the Boughs, to dilate it self into the vast shade of a Desert, sufficient to cover an host of Men.

Nor is Curiosity and a Liquorish Desire of enjoying that we never tried (though known to be the Cloud, in which all the Storms impending Life are engendred) yet cured in us, "Who by Retail drop into the same Error we consider in him as the highest and most impertinent Folly, the Apple of a wandering Eye not being seldom found able to overbalance the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Piety of David.

Wherefore it is time to give over upbraiding those Names of *Adam* and *Eve*; all things we never saw or knew being empty sounds, and Impertinent Appellations, not seldom laden, out of Ignorance in the Contents of their Story, (as a Number of other dead voices are,) with insignificant Praise, or Blame; especially since *Moses* and the Prophets are not heard to condemn them, as conscious to themselves they either would or could not but have done the like: Yet we may safely say, that between the suspension of the Promise and the Fall, (which may possibly answer the time Christ remained on the Cross) *Adam* endured greater Agonies than e're were matched, but by God and Man, who only knew the way to untread the Maze in which Man had lost himself, and all that should succeed, if so Wicked as to harbour a desire of Dilating himself, and bringing an Off-spring into a like Dilemma, in which he saw nothing for the Present, but horror joined with a fearful expectation of worse to come, not having so much as the weak twig of Hope

to sustain him from failing into despair ; which could not spring but from the Root of an Experience, arising from a former experimented Mercy the Garden having not yet produced any Fruit so lateward, there being as little marks of Forgiveness as there was a dismal example of Justice stamped upon the Disobedient Angels ; whose condition was yet so far better than Man's, as an already determined Judgment is more tolerable than one that remains still Arbitrary, at the Will of an Omnipotent Power ; and in this " miserable anxiety, God saves *Adam*, " whom nothing else was so mercifull as to kill.

Now I can do no less than predicate here a more Charitable Opinion than theirs that conclude, the greatest proportion of Men lie under the Kingdom of Satan ; by which the Promise of Redemption comes to be restrained, and so the Truth of its performance obstructed ; it being no where observable in the dignity of Reason that a superlative Power should go less, or beneath, its Word in relation to Good ; it exceeding the reach of the most rigid distinction, or strictest interpretation to find a parity, or equal proportion, between the Head and the Heel, if any were discoverable, between crushing and biting. This makes me tremble at their Presumption, who carry breath in their Nostrils, yet are not afraid to affirm, " That all things so dear to our Maker, as " to be capable of a future Happiness, are not be " found out of the Pale of Christendom, this or that " Church, or rather Chappel : No single Profession extant carrying a greater proportion with the whole World than a peculiar Parish doth to a Province ; as if the Fountains of God's Mercy were not as Ingenious, and his seven Spirits as diffusive as those of *Nilus* ; by which the want, not the neglect, of Rain is supplied in *Egypt* : Nor can it be imagined with any Salvo, to the Dignity, Piety, Wisdom, Omnipotency, and the Promise of God first made, and therefore likely to be most inviolably kept, (he not being as Man, that he should



should repent, for that the Earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is, the Fulness thereof, cannot be true, if Hell swallow up the major part; and that Christ his Son should be found at the least Assizes, with a smaller Train (let their Glory be never so great) than his shall March in the Head of those Miserable Souls, clothed with the Wrath of God. Can any in Prudence, if in Equity, think that the Malice of his Enemy should be more diffusive in relation to particulars, than the Mercy of our Blessed Saviour, who did not like the Devil, fall for our Destruction, but rise for our Justification? There now lives not a greater Infidel than *St. Thomas* was, yet the Apostles do not excommunicate him, nor Christ reject him, but cure him through a palpable manifestation of those Wounds the greatest part of the World have not, nor ever had any Knowledge of, not those most reserved any inspection into, but what they make through so small a Faith as doth not answer the proportion of a Grain of Mustard Seed; else they would remove those Mountains that shadow Truth. And if so single an attestation as mine might be allowed the boldness to appear against such a Cloud of Witnesses, as have found the *Turk* and *Pope* guilty in Person of the Title of *Anti-Christ*, I should reverse the Sentence, and pronounce it rather against that order of Men, or Discipline, that put the Forgiveness of God under a Bushel, (which, according to his Dignity and Promise, ought to diffuse it self over all the Nations of the World,) rendering by this means, the inexhaustible Treasurer of Mercy, like the Philosopher's Stone, of which some have made the Gospel of Jesus Christ but an Allegory,) only attainable by a People thus situated, instructed, and qualified; whereas none that call upon the Name of God (a custom appears by *Genesis* not to have begun till after *Adam*) are exempted out of the Primitive Grant: The fault of the Angels, if compared with that of Man,

Man, will not be found, upon a true Survey, much different; the first endeavouring to Equal their Maker in his Power, the latter in his Wisdom.

It is harder to find a Reason, for the Angels Sin against God, than their Malice to Men, it being usual for Malefactors to hate their Judge, and after Sentence to endeavour the hindrance of its Execution, and to bring others (at least they know he Favours) into a like Condemnation; having themselves no better condition to hope for, nor worse to fear; like the Wicked of this World, which seek that Ease amongst Company they are not able to find alone: Wherefore the preventing Satan's farther Triumph may not improbably be numbred amongst the Causes, why God shewed Mercy to Men; in the Salvation of whom, had he been so sparing as some imagine, his Justice would appear more prevalent than his Mercy, and so run out into such a Dishonourable extreme, as cannot be matched in the Practice of the greatest Tyrants that ever were, which are not found to make a temporal Punishment to extend to a Major part, much less, one eternal.

Whatever the Text may seem to import to our dull Capacities, there was no likelihood that *Adam* would have in this condition (if he rightly understood himself) Eat of the Tree of Life, but rather have swallowed Poison (had that Place afforded it,) who, by catching at the Shadow of Divinity, lost the real Substance of Humanity, at the suggestion of the Devil; who seeing God form a Governor out of the Dust, the most despicable part of his Government, yet a more Honourable beginning than his, (any thing being better than nothing,) he might look upon it with Disdain, as unworthy the Sentence of Goodness: Neither might  
this

this Humour of Pride be provoked, if he be admitted so much inspection into future Success, as to see the Creature he despised should not only inherit the Glory he was fallen from, but exceed the Angels that continued in integrity. Thus the Serpent growing fruitful in presumption, endeavours to frustrate his Maker's Intention, by labouring to deface his Image in Man.

But Omnipotence struck Light out of Darkness, by making the Prince of it instrumental to the production of his Son; and these joyful Tydings, *That the seed of the Woman should prevail against the Gates of Hell*, God brings himself as a token that he meant to perform it in his own person; neither is it to be passed without notice, that he saith, *the seed of the Woman only*; for by that might be prefigured the miraculous conception of our blessed Saviour without a Man, no less than the perverseness of depraved Nature: For though *Adam* had thus offended and felt an effect of the punishment in his present Apprehension, yet he was not able to lay hold on the weak Vertues of Repentance and Acknowledgment the lawful Daughters of Hope, with whom yet he had no acquaintance, much less Interest, before the Promise of Christ; but in stead of these tokens of Grace, he wanted not the impudence to lay the fault on God, as if the Woman had been made and given him for his destruction; and in this *Eve's* sin was less, and her manners more; "For though she would not take it to her self, but cast it on the Serpent, yet she doth not upbraid God with the making of it."

Now by God's mild Answer in this, no less than in his Colloquie held with *Cain* after the murder of his Brother, we may find he is not angry according to the mode of Men, or, as some represent him, with thunder continually in his hand; as if our prevarications and miseries had created passions in our Maker, and taught him to be angry or merciful; since if ever he had



had been capable of Fury, it had now appeared, when he found Malice, Ingratitude, Folly, and Pride, laid all in the way to interrupt his Work, which his Justice must have ruined, had it not been quenched by Love; Vertue taken out of the hidden Fountain of his Goodness, which till then he was not pleased to reveal.

And here his passing by all notice of the Devils operation in *Adam's* Transgression may colour their Opinion, that think, "Sin did then, and now doth, proceed from our selves.

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Conjectural

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Conjectural Queries :  
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Problematical Paradoxes  
Concerning  
Reason, Speech, Learning, Expe-  
riments, and other Philosophi-  
cal Matters.

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By FRANCIS OSBORN, Esq.

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To his very worthy Friend,

Mr. Ro. Wo.

Of Linc. College in Oxon.

SIR,

**D**I D I own the Wisdom and Wealth of Seneca, as truly as I do the highest Affection he pretends to in his Epistles, this had contained Matter no less suitable to the Greatness of your Judgment, than the Obligation I must ever acknowledg I owe to your Goodness; but since I am restrained from the first by Birth, as I am from the latter by Fortune, you may yet be woo'd to a more charitable acceptance upon this consideration, that though the Present be small, it was not filched from Epicurus, or any Magazine of Knowledge, than what lies included within my own Invention: Which proves this I send you as absolutely mine, as ever it was theirs (if any such be) that may have discovered it before I was born; for being acquitted by my Conscience of all Theft in this kind, I take the Recitements of others Opinions, as relating to no greater a shame in me, than those are obnoxious to, who enriched us with Guns and Printing, because some maintain they were used in China many thousand years before; the renconter being no less happy than his that stumbled on it at first.

## The EPISTLE

I confess I have been so basely abused by Books, as that I entertain none but upon high Commendations; and those rather New than Old, however the World is pleased to look a squint upon them, as less deserving, though some have appeared of late to admiration, and so far transcendent as I fear our Period is near, Ignorance and Barbarism, being commonly the last subdued before a general Destruction.

Knowledge hath been ever taken for an infallible portent of Ruin, found so busie a Companion, as she leaves nothing unpried into, in Heaven or Earth, towards the Heights and Depths of which she is not continually rolling her Conjectures and casting her Darts; tenable through no Opinions long, but what she remains fettered to with the strong Chains of the Mathematicks, a Study no less natural than necessary; the employment of Children, in their exactest innocency, being to make Houses and raise Pies of Dirt; so as if this inclination were encouraged and supported through the direction of discreet Teachers, these Buds might come in future to yield (without tormenting and subduing their Spirits) more wholesome Fruit than the crueller Culter of the School was ever found yet able to produce.

But I hold it no Prudence here to give a second blow, by which the Idolaters of former Customs may be tempted to a like severity, in case I should mistake, as 'tis very possible I may, the Land-skip I endeavour to draw being darkened through Ignorance, Superstition, and what is more dreadful, a thick and obscure cloud of different Judgments so long embraced for the Goddess of Truth, as none can prosecute the contrary, though never so far off, under hope of a milder penalty, than to be sent away naked, and wounded, which cannot but be thought an uncivil kind of Justice, and unsuitable to the primitive and richer Ages of the World; where then as few were denied to search at we find now able to determine, every Sect of Philosophers domineering in his Station.

## The EPISTLE

Yet rather than betray natural Reason into their hands. who desire to cut off all farther Traffick with the Land of Knowledge, I shall leave these Paradoxes, Problems, Queries, Conjectures, or what you please to call them, wholly to your Disposure, being resolved neither to be dejected, nor elated through their Destruction or Preservation, only I am confident if they can pass with the smallest degree of your approbation, it may prove a safe conduct in Justice against the severest Censures of others, no less than a perpetual testimony, that I am

Your faithful Friend

and Servant

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Conjectu-

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# Conjectural *Paradoxes*

## CONCERNING

*Reason, Speech, Learning, Experiments, &c.*

**M**OST Philosophy lies Clouded by Disputes, and the Magisterial Determinations of the Schools, from whence it hath, till of late, been thought presumption to appeal, their manifest Errors do appear in what they have already judged; and many as material things passed by under silence or restraint, that cannot be denied as fit to be known; nor any so likely to discover new Truths as such as march by themselves, and out of the beaten track of others; Curious Ideas being, like Precious Stones, sooner stumbled upon and found in places least looked for, than Started by the Direction of any that went before; who have left only discouragement, or at least but a negative, or such a perplexed Knowledge, as renders their understanding that rest in it, more offuscated and gloomy than the most stupid Ignorance it self.

Which together affords me cause enough to think our rare "Inventions and pregnant Wits stifle their own natural fertility through a too long and frequent commerce with Books, not seldom of a contrary complexion and style to the Readers, yet forced out of Custom to to be conversant in them.

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By which he is brought to stammer, and become so diffident of himself (such Learning lying in Memory, the most pedantical part of Knowledge,) as he dares not deliver his own Opinion out of reverence to Antiquity or any Authors else, but in the same Words he finds it written. The doting upon foreign Authority keeping us still at a stand, like the Body of *Joab's* Brother, beyond which the *Israelites* would not pass, out of a vain reverence to their General.

And thus all farther Prosecution of Knowledge and Conquest over Ignorance is obstructed, and Scholars tied to cultivate and confine their Travels within the Circuit of a Barren Wilderness, stocked with insignificant Terms, and such crabbed allusions and improbable conclusions, that have no better Plea for their Authority than the exorbitant veneration which Tradition, rather Merit, hath awarded Antiquity above the equal, if not better Judgments found in our Age; nor is there hope of any farther, or more happy Progress, till these rotten Carcasses be removed out of the way, or covered from their Eyes that want not Hearts and abilities to jog on better without them.

The first Man could have at the beginning but this advantage of a Child, that his Organs were immediately fitted and prepared to receive, no less than retain Knowledge; which in an Infant are obstructed through want of room, or too great a redundancy of Phlegm or Moisture.

For if *Adam* was furnished with more, it must be supernatural, and so far above humane apprehension, as it is to imagine how he should know his Goods, or the use of what he never had seen or tried, unless we conceive he brought an Inventory or Herbal, into the World with him.

Wherefore according to humane understanding, Reason, like Fire, was at the beginning but a Spark, till through a confluence of all events happenable to

Man, it received augmentation, as the other did from the supplement of Matter ; and having once caught Paper, did illuminate the World.

Now though so much Knowledge is not unlikely to be found in the Creature, as that with the same advantages to increase it, they might become more intelligent than still to remain Slaves : Yet I find room for a Querie “ *Whether this defect, (if capable of that Title) doth not proceed rather from the want of Speech, than perception ? Or, Whether Humanity that arrogates so high, as to Proclaim it self Lord over all, may not be found in some Persons and Places, (as it might not impossibly have been in the rest) little more rational, had it not greater stock of Experiments to traffick with, than every respective individual is able to glean up of himself ?* Our advantages proceeding from Commerce, whose Wheel once set a work did quickly manifest on which side Gain or Loss lay, the primitive Knowledge of Good and Evil, and before whose door Sin was first found.

And this inspection into things, at the beginning dim and modest, became, by handing from one generation to another, so huge a Mountain in their estimation who presumed to have made a full and exact Survey of the Land of Knowledge ; that with the Gyants of old, they did not only rant it over men's Persons and Consciences, by proportioning what extent of Worship befitted the Gods, but erected their Pillars upon the Borders of Philosophy under such an imperious injunction, as none, till of late, have ventured to discover any thing beyond them ; though found in other descriptions and relations very false, by multiplying such poor advantages as man hath acquired, and depressing greater which do naturally belong to the Creature, who is inspired with the same breath, inhabits the same Earth, is more healthful and strong ; only he seems to come short in Reason, the Original of which I shall make my farther endeavour to disco-



ver; and if it prove in the abstract more adventitious than natural, and less beneficial than the Senses, upon whose ruine she hath built her Foundation, I hope it may hold forth an Use of humility unto us, if not move pity towards the Creature, who the Apostle justly saith groans for its Deliverance.

It is on all hands confessed without the least whisper of Contradiction, that "*Luxurious, Idle, and Vicious Nations are most pregnant and happy in the Richest Endowments of the mind. And that it is ordinary with divers in Ecstasies, Fevers, acute Diseases, and during the storms of Love, Fear, &c. to have their Inventions soar higher than in a more entire Health they have been found after able to reach.* From whence it is deducible, that Reason (for ought we know) may be but the effect of those corporeal infirmities from which without question it receives Augmentation, since Wisdom is not found frequently mingled with Strength and Beauty, the Richest endowments unsophisticated Nature appears to own in all things living besides; whereas some, if not the generality of Men, outwardly crooked and deformed, utter Inventions most neatly composed, the loss and defect in one external Sense or Part making a treble compensation in the Mind, contrary to Beasts, amongst whom those of the exactest Features are most useful and docile.

Nor is it probable but such variety of Food separated from the Blood by Fire, and compounded with Sugar, Spices, Salt, Sawces, Perfumes, with all sorts Viands relating to the high taste, which eaten are convertible into our own Bodies, should alter and add to the Faculties of the Mind, and fill us in the Day with some of those rational Ruptures to apprehend from the vapours they raise so palpably during sleep; not to be denied the effects of a distempered Brain, and strangers to such Creatures and Persons as are of more natural diets, or make their repast on Herbs and less

sophisticated Meats, through which Flegm is encreased, so known a Retarder of understanding as to protract the maturity of Children, till by a drier aliment and unnatural heat they are exposed to (especially their Heads) it is consumed; a concurrent cause of this rational advantage we pretend to have over Beasts, that wanting the use of Fire, are necessarily more replenished with Fluid humours, and so by consequence less wise, though far more agile, healthful, and strong: whereas those to whom we allow the largest proportion of understanding, are weak, meagre, and still under some course of Physick, which may pass for another cause of Knowledge, the operations of the mind being most Prevalent in decrepid Bodies.

The same is incident to Wine, that doth not seldom inspire a Clown with Civility, a Coward with Valour, the most sordidly Covetous with Liberality; and (what is most conducive to the Assertion in Hand) a Fool with a larger proportion of Wit than he had, though unable to reduce it into a habit, by reason of some obstruction or leakage in his Organs. From whence it is apparent, that Fancy and conceit may be gratified at the prejudice of the Senses, no less than by the usual practice of Students, Poets, and Accountants, that use all endeavours to exclude and stifle the Ideas both of their Eyes and Ears, whose diversions they can by no means admit without hazarding the happy success of all they are in labour to bring about; whereas Beasts, by reason of their continual fears, find leisure to be attentive to nothing but Sense; like a Town besieged, wherein all other Arts cease, but what may contribute to Relief and Preservation, because Hearing and Smelling are their chiefest Outguards, and without which they cannot in safety gather their Food. Nor doth their care extend beyond this for want of that Spur of Necessity (formed through the mediation of their own Arts and Nature) with which Men are pricked on to new inventions, being

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at better leisure and more security, able (standing in little awe but of their own species) to consume those Spirits in internal contemplations, through which both themselves and their Fellow Creatures are rendered more miserable than by Nature, without this Improvement (of what they call Wisdom) they needed to have been, whilst the other Animals are forced to dissipate them amongst their Senses, only to purchase Food and Safety; yet the Knowledge so much boasted of, is no more ours than Honey is the Bees, before picked up out of the less erring practices of the more innocent Creatures, from whence they have deduced their best principles to the very Arts used by themselves in the Preservation or destruction of their own kind. And these hoarded up in Memory, the Magazine of by-past Events, though possibly at first no more retentive in Man's Head than Beasts, till by the fumes of the former mentioned excess, ours become so oily, like a Pot-lid, and apt for receipt, as nothing worthy observation could escape without leaving an impression behind it. And in this Mold with the help of Fire, and a continual refining through Time, the purest reason, so much relied on by Statists and Politicians, came at first to be cast.

And that this is not obtruded upon belief under a single Testimony, it may be found the Opinion of the *French Nation*, where they have not a more apposite expression for a Fool, than that his Head is ill made; no weak Argument of an universal Belief, that Midwives skill doth highly conduce to an advancement or depression of Wisdom in a Child. And from hence I have been led to this wish, that the like Office might be performed on the behalf of a young Ape (of the Kingdom of *Congo* of which some years since I saw one in *England*, that bore Symmetry, if not throughout, yet very little differing from a Child's) whose Skull being kept from a too sudden closing by heat, swathing, and the rest of the ligations used by Nur-



ses to Infants, might not unpossibly acquire reason, which once attained, the impediments to Speech (whose principal cunning lies in a musical Division, or mincing a continued sound into articulate Notes) would be no sooner discovered than removed; we enjoying many things under the favour and endeavours of Reason, far more difficult and remote from the Confines of Nature, than the Coinage of Languages, rendered apparent through the Multitude of them met within the World; and this once acquired, though by chance, and not altogether consonant to the exact pattern of Nature, Custom, assisted by Imagination might render diffuse for the future, as I believe not only many of our new purchased qualities, but divers of those, Man's curiosity hath imprinted upon his own Kind or others, are already become manifest in a Succession of Dogs whelped without Tails. To which mutilation (at first no question purely humane, or merely accidental) Nature hath been so indulgent already, as instead of an unsightly Bob, to form a sharp comely Bone, like the Scut of a Deer.

Now since we are able to add to, or diminish from Nature's work, both in reference to Body and Mind, it cannot appear improbable, that many alterations (perhaps greater than we are able to imagine, or ready to believe) have had their Flux and Reflux often repeated, or changed since the beginning; which may render it no improbable Opinion (but as true as formerly it hath been common) that Apes were of the Seed of *Cham*, or else the By-blows of some wild stock of humanity; the Characters of whose kind remaining no less manifest in their Bodies, than affections to Women, of which there are so many living Witnesses, as it were superfluous to endeavour to prove it: Only this may be added as a farther Testimony, that my self have seen two Monkies that for many Years did not fail to have duly a Lunary Purgation.

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Nor is this any rare Discovery, but cited as a Report by the Lord *Mountaign* in his Essays, no less than we find it in the usual practice of the Almighty in the Scriptures, "To Punish a Sin in the Succession of a Family, as he did some with short Life, others with Leprosie, &c. the recital of which I will fully omit, it being my task rather to propose than determine.

And if any understand what is said here in a more positive Sense, they abuse themselves no less than wrong me, who have no stronger assertions to justify this, than my weak Conjecture, which is, that if God laid the Deprivation of Reason upon these Monsters (for other they cannot appear to be, bearing a shape and owning Gestures as various from the rest of Animals, as their Conceptions are remote from the Prudence of a Man) "for any peculiar Offence, or that "humane Lust did cause it, by casting Seed into an "irrational and improper Soil, there lies no cure "for this Bestiality, if not in Heat; Cold being a heavy Enemy to activity of the Mind, though a tryed Friend to Strength, and a continuer of perfection; as heat on the contrary Melts and Refines the Spirits into a more Rational Temper. The first of which is exemplified in Sheep and Kine, which, though useful, cannot be excluded the Catalogue of the most simple; for exposing their new fallen Young to the Injury of the Weather, their Pores become sealed up so close as the Cross and Flegmatick Strangle the purer Spirits, only capable of that vivacity and cunning found in these Creatures forced to use Stratagems in the gaining of their Food, whose Whelps are housed in Dens and Thickets. Nor are the Foggy humours in those Creatures rarified by Sweat, most proper to the Heads of Men, that in Horses being rather squeezed out by Labour, than distilled gently by Drops, through which Nature obtains an opportunity to pick and chuse, who uncompelled will  
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part with nothing but what is bad or superfluous.

Now if the Head be capable of molding into one Figure, more apt for the production of Reason than another, (as it is on the side of common experience confessed,) then can as little doubt be made, but that it must needs have been light upon in a far less revolution of Time than the World hath already passed over, if certain of her own Chronologie, which some have extended many thousand of years beyond what by Faith we are obliged to believe; and Wisdom once attained could never be lost, since (as it is reported of the Elixar) she receives augmentation and improvement from every event. And because our greater security and variety of Food hath suffocated and abated so much of our sense, as it is in no proportion able to find employment for our fancy, (against whose Nature it is to be idle) as that more entire may do in the Creature: Man is continually ruminating of what is past, or attentive on what is present, and by comparing of these, is in some Mediocrity taught to determine of the Future, having Wisdom or Folly objected to him, according as the Conjecture doth quadrate with Truth, and the concurrence of a happy success: Whereas the rest of Animals not being able to estate their Young, and such as succeed in their dear bought experiences, (if not for want of memory, the mint of Knowledge, yet out of an incapacity for Discourse, and disability to employ such Arts as are only proper to Societies limited by Laws) become stunted in their Knowledge; and without improvement, not owning a larger Stock than the Brevity of a turbulent life is able to accumulate, for want of Words, which, coined into Questions and Answers, are only able to barter our own, and purchase the Wisdom belonging to others.

Now if any think people were born Wise at the first, (I mean in relation to the understanding now currant) they cannot but alter their Opinion upon contemplation



tion of the vast improvement one Age makes of what went before, and how many new and more useful Arts are now as it were daily invented.

And as the want of Words is a total Eclipse of any nearer drawn or farther progress in the Creature towards Reason, so we find the confusion of Languages no small Remora to the enlargement of Man's; the which (as is observable in some Plagues else,) though immediately poured on us by God for Sin, have their radical Cause yet extant in Nature it self; so a variety in Dialects may by such probabilities as these seem to be occasioned, Speech being but an appellation of things of which Providence hath bestowed many in one place, denied to others, a diversity of Languages must needs attend as a necessary consequence; made yet more various and less intelligible from moisture and drought, through whose mediocrity or excess, sound is rendered either liquid, or mute, proportionate to the contraction or extension of their Organs who do, or may hereafter inhabit the place that cannot but naturally own the Causes of such Effects, some pumping their Words out of their Throats, others lower; as I knew a tall Scotchman, allowed a Pension from King *James*, that could frame a Voice at the mouth of his Lungs, seeming to be remote from the Ears of the nearest By-stander; a Fallacy no less likely to be in practice with the Priests of *Apollo*, than the Original of many miraculous narrations of old: And through this variety of Tone and Pronunciation it oftens comes to pass, that an Englishman is not able readily to converse with a Stranger in one and the same Latin. From whence we may modestly observe that Nature had the Confusion of Tongues in *Potentia*, before God reduced it into an actual Plague, who did not then create it a-new, no more than he did the Rain-bow, but did only accommodate this Punishment to his present purpose.

Now though the multiplicity of Idioms may in some part cloud our Knowledge from the Experiences to be gained

gained by Strangers, yet the Time usually spent, and the hardship endured at School to dissipate these mediums, and to learn to see through them, may not unpossibly be heavier and more tedious than the curse it self.

It being likelier to have been the voice of Custom than Reason that fonted a bare Knowledge in Tongues with the title of Learning ; in the prosecution of which the Spirits of Children are blunted, and Wit exchanged for insignificant Terms, and a stupid ignorance of all things else, under the tyrannical Regiment of an ignorant *Pedagogue* ; who if good for any thing, that Art must needs go so averse to the grain of his Understanding, as he cannot but be a mere Emperick in it ; apparent in the most, because seldom undertaken, but as a last Reserve, and after more easie and thriving Professions have been tried ; where if the salary prove not more necessary to his Fortune, than so unmanly an Erudition doth to the miserable Child, 'tis easie to guess who drove the Bargain. And this Plague past some to bail themselves out of the Desarts of Want, and the Sons of others less needy to attain an insight into such Tongues as our Ancestours Folly, not Reason, prompted them to prefer before Experience, the Dialect of the World, and with which you may travel farther, and in more security, than with all the Learning in *Europe*.

The Child now in his most docile Age to study men's and softest temper to take the impression of patience and compliance, is by a learned Tutour and brazen-faced impudence gained in the Schools swept and garnished to receive a seven fold more wilful and indomitable ignorance in relation to what is convenient and becoming a Citizen of the World ; a false Opinion of what he hath not covering from his apprehension such defects as really he hath.

Such as make Learning a full employment have their Judgment so over-awed by Antiquity, that, like Players,

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ers, they dare present nothing in publick, but what their Poets have left them written ; and if any exception can be made against that general Rule, which concludes *a too long continuance at the University no great advancement of parts*, it will be found amongst such as passed under the notion of Rascals and Libertines, it being obvious to proof (if I were willing to register those glorious Names under such a monstrous head) that none have graced Learning more than some the University hath exploded ; Invention being an Art of too noble a nature to be learned under an Apprenticeship, or the great restraint of the Schools, that spoil and dead the fresh and piquant taste of latter and new Wits, by putting them into old forms, patched up with Sentences, which doth unavoidably make a rent in the Author's style ; it being impossible for one to write or behave himself suitable to the gust of all, or of the major part that hath not spent his time in a more universal commerce than the guise of an Academy is able to afford. And if any doubt of this Truth, shew the Infidel a mere Scholar in the company of Ladies ; or (that failing to convert him,) a managing his Horse or Estate after the old Idolater his Father or Uncle is dead, who thought no other Calves deserved to be Worshipful that had not learned to bleat after the mode of *Dan* or *Berbel*.

The ancient, and indeed most natural, Tryal for Land in this Nation (since Strength and Valour measures out the livelihood and place of abode to every Creature) was by Combate, at this day reduced into the Art of Fencing, whose exactest Professours are not seldom confounded, and beaten out of their play, by an active Country-man, that owns no more Cunning than a robust arm, and a quick eye, is able to inform a Cudgel withal, easily found in every Wood, because managed contrary to a premised method, the practice of the Science (far easier called noble than proved so) had only acquainted the Fencer with, who becomes farther  
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to seek, and is put in a greater Disarray, through this more natural, but less methodical way, than another possibly might have been, that deals his Blows by a less artificial Direction; the Faculties of Soul and Body being observed at long running to receive seldom amendment, often Detriment, from the Restrictions of Art, unless in things like Painting, merely delusive, or Grafting and Planting, wholly laborious; these being Embellishers, if not Restorers, of Nature; whereas the Liberal Sciences (as the Schools call them) labour to confine Experience within general Rules, tho' found to be as diffusive and numberless as the Accidents and Events depending upon Motion, and through whose mediation alone Reason is capable of a farther improvement.

As Man's refusing no nourishment hath already been owned (and I doubt not but under the favour of some seeming probability at least) for an Advancer of that Wisdom we transcend the rest of God's Creatures in, so I presume it may as rationally be proposed for an occasion of long Life; since (through so various a change of meats) the several humours of our Bodies are in a continual vicissitude so stimulated, and held in such an equal contest, as neither Heat nor Cold, Drought nor Moisture, are suffered to exceed that just proportion Nature hath assigned to maintain all things in Being; few Creatures attaining to so long a continuance as Elephants, Horses, &c. most domestical with men, which by reason of the great variety of Herbs they feed on in Summer, and their dry Dyet in Winter (noted by that honourable Restorer of Philosophy for a great prolonger of Life) do not seldom reach the most ordinary Ages of Men: And amongst Birds, those of Prey, Parrots, and Geese; the first feeding on all sorts of Flesh, (nor will they refuse Fish upon occasion; as the second of every thing eatable by us; the third upon what is held venomous to humane Nature, besides Grass and Corn; whereas Doves Sparrows,

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rows, &c. are of short continuance. To which I shall only add, in favour of my former assertion, that the Fowls first mentioned come short in understanding of nothing that hath Wings.

I heard it first affirmed by a *French* Student in Physick, and known it verified by my own experience in relation to many, that all Fowl may be eaten (if not for Delight) in a Siege, or time of necessity, without danger, Opinion rather than Nature having caused a disgust generally arising against some (of themselves) delicate Meats, as my self can attest for Young bald Buzzard, Sparrow-hawks, Owls, &c. together with a number of things more an effeminate niceness hath exploded our Tables; yet in the mean time Mushrooms, Frogs, Whelks, Snails, &c. have crawled into the Dishes of Princes, and are daily eaten in their Courts for Dainties, which, amongst other Viands not in use amongst our Ancestors, are not likely to occasion other Vapours than their more unsophisticated Food did alembick the Heads of such orderly Persons withal, whose Dreams, if not waking imaginations, must needs differ from ours; as I can instance from a repeated experiment of my own, who, encouraged through the former mentioned *Frenchmen's* confidence, did eat at Supper a considerable quantity of the Green Wood-spice, with the long Tongue; after which I found my Sleep taken up with uncouth, and (as I then apprehended) no impertinent Fancies, the cause I made a second Experiment with the like Success: From whence may be deduced, that if our nourishment, or any outward or inward Application or Digestion, may be force to inspire Sleep with various Dreams, which remembered waking, seem not unworthy our own most serious Meditations, no less than the attention of others more wise; Man alone, that hath extended his Food over all things eatable, cannot but participate of every Effect they are either in gross or respectively liable unto, and so capable of a more dif-

fulive Knowledge than the Creatures, not able to digest that variety Custom hath rendred the Stomachs of Men Familiar withal; theirs being commonly of one Temper, and without mixture, ours hot and cold, dry and moist, bordering upon the next Confines of Poison, and not seldom a Composition of all Contrarieties together. Now if our Bodies (as Dr. *Brown* no less wittily than truly saith) “are  
“in a small revolution of time licked from our  
“Trenchers, why may not what we eat work as effectually upon our Spirits as Flesh and as well waking as asleep?

Upon the first view of *Cornelius Agrippa's* Vanity of Sciences, I did applaud his diligence, in becoming so versed in every Profession, no less than his resolute detection of their Abuses; by which he confirms me in the Opinion, that what we esteem Wisdom, is of no more signal advantage (as I have often said) than what is deducible out of the Weakness of others; yet, upon inspection into the Bottom of his reprehensions, I find the World is held up, and kept in plight, merely by cheating; so as those Trades he hath reduced under a numeration are not only guilty, but himself, and all such as make it their Pastime, if not their business, to be sceptical in what is generally looked upon as certain, and to fish for more probable Truths in the Depths of Nature, where nothing is found pure without mixture, (if we may not with reverence say Sophistication) to her very products of Life and Death, since that one would be as far to seek of any content in the absence of Hope, as the other of Bitterness out of the presence of Fear. Now since the Mother of all things useth such slights to flatter her Children into the act of Generation, for her own sake of continuance, and for the same hath represented Death in the most odious aspect, to terrifie us out of the desire of the Grave, (which though opposite to her present intention, cannot but be as necessary to a future, and that which Religion teacheth is only capable to make us in the least  
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measure happy,) how should her Creature Man produce more useful, or gather more lasting Fruit than those of *Sodom*, that vanish upon the Offer of Fruition, since the most Beneficial Calling or Employment is incapable of affording a more Honourable Salary than Industry can worm out of the wants of others? From whence we may safely affirm, that Sin is the chiefest Task-master, since the most are busied about what is Destructive, Superfluous, or uncertain; and to remove this from vulgar understandings, the best and readiest Chapman for all things adulterated in reference to Honour, Profit, and universal Good and Tranquility, the preservation of which hath diminished much of the natural Stock belonging to particulars, such ranting Terms as *Agrippa* mentions are stuffed into all Sciences, through which the most Familiar things are rendred unintelligible without a *Lexicon*; and in no other respect useful, than, like *gandy Shells*, and Glistering Stones, to adorn the Fountain of Learning towards the gratification of their Eyes, who, led by the Ocean of Books that daily issue out, come to visit them like the Heads of *Nilus*; though such Canting cannot be destructive to nearer Relations, by which every Profession is furnished with an opportunity of Deceit, to the end of the Chapter of Trade; the continuance of which, render the Buyer oftentimes farther to seek in the Knowledge of the Name, than the Thing; an inconvenience so visible, and Epidemical, as it could never have come under my Pen, had it continu'd within the Circle of Men obnoxious to the like fault, and not fallen so heavy upon Children, whose Misery, no less than loss of Time, I have not yet forgot, endured and spent upon forms little different from those of a Gally, to no more thriving an intention in reference to the Publick, than Apothecaries Paint and Adorn their Shops, which is to delude the ignorant, and hide from inspection such Arts as lie more in Parade than Substance; the occasion not only

of a greater expence of Years in this Limbo, to the loss of the more useful vision of Experience, but a smaller proficiency in Learning, such being held so long viewing the Superscription, as small leisure (if any desire) is left to consider the contents; nor doth the universality of this abuse render it more tolerable than the multitude, as well as variety of Company than the pains of Hell, Learning running in this course so contrary to what she professes, which is to render Reason more plain, that she brings, like *Eve*, a tattered Apron to cover it.

Though Chalk Stones may appear of too weak and soft a Temper to perfect a Fabrick, yet they become useful and necessary to mark and delineate the first Grounds for the greatest and most exact Designs; so Idea's the Embroy's of Knowledge, are not seldom found in heads apter for Conception than Production, it being a Labour proper and peculiar to *Jupiter* alone to be at once delivered of so exact a *Minerva*, and so strongly Armed as may be proof against Detraction and Emendation.

Yet rambling Wits ought (in my poor Judgment) to be indulged, because by crumbling their Conjectures on all Subjects, they have in every Age farther enriched the World, than solider Understandings are known to have done; which may appear upon Tryal fitter for Nurses than Mothers, whom in a short time they teach their Children to forget, and call that by their own Names, never cost them more pains than to Educate and Cloath suitably to the Apprehensions of Men: A truth so manifest, that if all the Arts (not to mention the Altars) were forced to refund what hath been primitively borrowed from the Poets, they would (if not be naked) want many of their Richest Ornaments; and if we call to account who first did embellish our Language, we shall not find them amongst the greatest Clerks, but such as were more

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conversant with Men than Books; for though the first, like Phlegmatick Cattel, hanging their Noses still over their Tables, may appear more plump and voluminous, yet such as with the Eagle survey the World, cannot but be more active and exemplary.

Nature holds out proof against all constraint; for if violated in one Sense, it is still for gratification of some other Passion or affection, at the present more prevalent; Conies, Ferrets, &c. do not seldom devour their Young, but 'tis always for want of Water or Meat: Nor are Women (out of Fear and Shame of what Law hath rather forged than found in the Records of Nature) less cruel to their Children, when squeezed between the Bark of Reproach and the dreadful Tree of Destruction, they make them away.

For though Nature hath placed Mother and Child in a Relation next in Blood, she hath removed them many Degrees off in that of Affection, ever most prevalent in reference to Themselves, especially when all hope determines as it doth here.

To conclude: Self-Murther (as we call it, though reckoned amongst the highest results of Valour) being still to avoid a present, or put to silence all expectation of Future Misery, esteemed more than Death, may no more than the rest be contrary to the award of this universal Mistress, whose highest intention is Well-being, no more than it is against Reason, of two Evils to make choice of the Least.

No Element is found liable to a more general Diminution than it is Subject to an universal Excess; manifest in the Sea, that receives not any Augmentation from the greatest Confluence of Land-Floods; The Reason is, That her Comings-in are Mathematically adjusted to her Layings out, all possible Abatements in one place being re-imburs'd in another, by a continu-



al Bartering and Exchange; from whence, through a Natural Chymistry, so much is Commuted or Calcin'd as only makes good the Principal Stock, without encroachment upon Superfluity or Want.

Such as seek farther after their own Original, or are in Quest of a remoter Cause than God, prosecute a no less impertinent Study, and from whence no more certain Solution can be expected, than Conjecture is able to return their Curiosity, who endeavour to find out what Mutations may succeed after Death hath determined their Speculation shall cease; it being equally impossible to discover our first Production, as for a Child, without Direction, to know the Midwife that brought him into the World, or the precise part of it whereon he was born; wherefore out of the power of any thing but Omniscieny to extend a Pedigree beyond the Line of ordinary Generation; That related by *Moses* pointing more to Obedience, and an exact Observation of the Sabbath (not till long after the Creation indulged through any reveal'd Practice) than the fomenting of Understanding not improperly alledged for the Discoverer, if not the Occasion of Infelicity; Man remaining in a more entire Tranquility under a calm ignorance, than such a turbulent and indeterminable Knowledge; which, like the Aprons it first produced, is patched up with so many Leaves of contrary Operations, Ends, and Applications, that under pretence of a Covering for our Shame, it doth daily reveal more Mischiefe, and is, by reason of a Subtilty learn'd from the Serpent, able to conceal greater Malice, Sin, and Wickedness, (the Original of Infelicity,) than naked mankind had ever been capable of without it: So as no thanks remains due to it, but what may result from the Abbreviation of Life, it being an undeniable Truth. That the production of every Child is, if not an Advancer of the Monarchy of Reason in its own Person, the doubted Subject of others Deceit, and Oppressions; humane Wisdom being of a little

little larger extent, than what it is able to purchase and find room for through an Encroachment and Advantage, made and taken of others Folly and Defects: And from this the whole World comes to be so universally Inhabited, every Family seeking rest by Evasion, it being as natural for Strife to abound where Want is, as for Strength to prevail: Wherefore Sin must needs be an Effect, if not of Eating, of Excess; through which man, out of Love for Himself, came to rob others; and to obviate the Differences could not but arise from Inequality in Strength, Appetites, and Desires, Government was instituted, towards whose Favour all Laws, both Civil and Divine, are either taught, or do naturally encline: Yet if any in Curiosity desire to make scrutiny into their own Original, I cannot but with *Solomon* send them to the Insects for their farther Satisfaction, and perswade them to be more studious after the Causes of such Animals as the Sun doth yearly create, or regenerate, and to enquire whether Matter may not be so prepared and adapted by us, as it shall be capable of Animation, through a propensity to that regular and even proportion of Weight and Measure, naturally required by the first Agents of Life. Nor can any cause of Discouragement be well apprehended in the Prosecution of Life's Original, through a more curious Inspection into the Production of Insects, which once perfectly survey'd and found out, cannot but open a Window towards the prospect of our own beginning; since he that hath discovered the Spring by which a small Watch is enlivened, not to be denied the neater workmanship, cannot in reason be far to seek what causeth and continues the Operations of a Church-Clock; their Motions being one and the same, no less than their Engines, though bound up in a smaller Volume, and supported by more Legs and Feet. Nor are there found above one or two considerable Obstructions lying in the way of this endeavour, and those no farther binding than a Commission re-

ceived from Custom hath power to oblige. Of which the First is an implicate and blind adhering to the Votes and Precedents derived to us from Antiquity, not considering, there may not unpossibly lie as vast a World of Truth beyond this rotten Bar, as Experience hath shewn us of Land and Nations, which never fell within the Compass of the Old Maps, or these Writers Cognizance: And as this renders the farther Endeavour after knowledge a lost labour in the Conceit of Dunces, so our Torrif'd-Brain'd Zealots, through as great a Mistake in Scripture, apprehend it as Damnable; yet the Reason of the first, no less than the Consciences of the latter, might receive satisfaction from Dr. *Hackwel's* Apology, were they capable of it, To which may be added, That since many Words and Actions recited of the Patriarchs, do in all Judgments deviate from the exacter Lines of Morality, (the principal, if not the only End of their Manifestation,) What Caution can be given, or Assurance taken, for their Infallibility in Philosophy? the inculcation of which was never intended what is found said in Relation to it, rather accommodated to the vulgar Opinion, than any imperative Truth. From whence may be gathered, That *Joshua's Bidding the Sun Stand still*, is no more Argument for the Motion of it, than *Jacob's* deluding his Brother may be pleaded in the Justification of Mine: Wherefore he that, out of a venerable Esteem of the Sacred Text, gives Credit to a Prolongation of the Day, and so a full performance of all the Ends and Purposes for which the request was made, it matters not in relation to Faith, whether it resulted from the Sun's or the Earth's Motion; *Joshua* being the General of an Army, not a professed Philosopher, so no less incapable of a Mistake in the Mathematicks, than *Elijah* was in the Calculation of God's Servants, whom he summed up in his peculiar Person, till his Arithmetick was better regulated by the Essence of Number, &c. Nor did our Saviour discountenance  
this



this Opinion, when he, according to the usual Mode of the Place, did lift up his Eyes towards Heaven, tho' he did know, and teach us, That the Father was not only resident in Himself, but together with all Things in and under the Earth. As for other Rubs lying in the Way of a farther Inquisition after Knowledge, (all being readier to cast Reproach and Ink in the Face of a Projector, than to assist for the present, or help in the Future, unless after Death,) to Improve to the best Advantage what perhaps he has not strength alone to produce, I look upon them in Some as a Design to guard their Callings from Inspection, and in Others as an Obstinate Ignorance, engendred out of Shame to confess Themselves no less than their Teachers, to have for so many Ages been Promoters of, and satisfi- ed with, what now doth plainly appear to be mere Figments, &c.

Fancy is the Mold and Pencil that shapes the Form, and casts the Colour upon Man and Beast, according to the Pattern presented to it by the Senses, though it may be look'd upon in the Schools, under an Inferiour Notion, where the Custom is to be most Fruitful in Terms when they are most Barren of Understanding, tying Knot upon Knot, when she finds her Nails too short for the unravelling of the first; especially upon his Endeavours to enlarge the excellencies of Man (whom in a high Rant she styles a little World) a- bove his Fellow-Creatures; and to make this good, places in one part of his Head a receptacle for Memo- ry, and others for Invention, Reason, &c. besides a Number of Mansions more, situated in the Heart, for Vertues, Passions, and Affections; though upon a strict Scrutiny, the same Goods may be found in the Beast, and far more useful, and less Contaminated through a greasie-Diet, and exorbitant Pursuit after Pleasure, by which Men become worse than Beasts, gratifying their Taste at the Prejudice of all the rest of the Sen- ses, the Natural Guards of Safety, yet manifest a-

mongst the more temperate Indians, reported (like our English Crows) to smell Gunpowder at a great distance, gaining nothing by the Change but an Imperfect Reason, which, with that Incharned Horn blown by the *Satyr*, doth terrifie more than confirm, or resolve, such as own and make use of it : Yet we pass over in the Creature greater and more certain Advantages, without Notice or under Contempt, forgetting, that if we allow them Fancy, which like a Looking-Glass doth not only retain the outward Figures Sense presents us with, but doth reverberate those Censures upon it, as are observed to perplex or quiet the Passions in both. What huge Advantage is left Man to boast of, more than that it may be better situated, or is of a greater Circumference in Us than Them, growing, like the Crystalline Humour in the Eyes, quicker from a Variation of Objects? And hence cannot be denied to result all the Wisdom discernible in both, with which, by reason of Discourse, we are able to make the louder Noise, though they are not found quite silent, and no less ready than able, in case of Danger, to advise one the other, as every Fowler can upon his Knowledge attest. Yet the whole Extent of both our Capacities lies in no larger a Circle, than that of others Follies ; only in things not yet fallen within the compass of Experience, and in relation to Prognostication, or Prediction, the Creature hath the Preheminence, out of a more accurate Vivacity in Sense.

The World labours of a double Quartane, wherein the number of good days (if any be) are far exceeded by the bad ; the Serenity of the Spring being over-voted through the scorching Heat in Summer, and the Cold in Winter ; besides the interruptions met with arising from her own private Distempers. The same dismal Fatality attends Youth and Age, in which Sickness, and other Calamities, suitable to both Seasons, causeth in all not only a Necessity, but in some a Desire to put themselves upon the Tryal of Death, and

return

return again into the Lap of that Earth, to and from whence all things do in a certain Vicissitude go, and come; which may authorise a Belief, *'That all things were not created for their Own sakes, but the mere Interest of Nature, which abhors to be Idle, or to leave any impregnant Condition.* And from hence may arise another Conjecture, that the Moon, no less than the Stars, may be as well replenished with Inhabitants as the Earth, and subject to the same Changes, in relation to what it produceth, though stable and so long permanent it self, as God in his eternal Decree hath determined they shall remain, being subject to Dissolution, but from the Force of that Command did at first establish them, together with all things extant. Among which, though some are observed to wear out and Perish, they are as it were but the external Ornaments and Household-stuff, which, within a short Revolution of Time, do receive a fresh Renovation from the Sun, the highest and most splendid result of God's Beauty our Mortal Eyes (unsupported by Faith) are able to discern.

Which may afford cause of Pity for some of the Heathen that made it the Object of their Worship, who, finding it the Cause of such visible Resurrections presumed it might be the Original of all Things, imagining the Power of Continuance and Preservation equal to that of Creation, not being able to see higher, for want of the Light of the Word of God.

It may be no improbable *Paradox*, That where the Earth's magnetical Effects cease, there some other no less active Power begins to operate with a like Motion another way: Which granted, it can be no prodigious Conjecture, That such Birds as are observed to Inn or Board in this Clime only for some certain Months, maintain a like temporary Commerce with other Planets, as they are found to do amongst us, according to the respective *Advantages* Nature hath taught



taught them to make of Times and Seasons. And that their passage is without much Difficulty, may be asserted from the punctual Days they keep yearly to come and go in, not possibly to be observed, were they obnoxious to any Obstruction from Wind and Weather, or the least other Contingency lying in their Road; which the revolution of a shorter Space than Men are found to live, could not chuse but discover. And that the Place they come from relates to the Earth admits the most probable Tryal from us, which being an Island may best observe whether they do appear first by the Sea side or in the *Mid-land*; and if the latter, (as I have heard it often affirmed the Cuckow is universally seen the Second of *April*,) the Assertion may be allowed in reason the Sentence of Probability, if not of an unquestionable Truth. That Woodcocks are some Years in great plenty by the Shore in *Norfolk*, cannot be denied; but yet it is as manifest, That at the same time their Appearance is as numerous in the most In-Land Countries. Nor is it necessary that they should all descend in a Line, though Thousands of *Feldefers*, and *Thrushes*, have been seen within the Compass of a Mile, and none round about. Nor doth Wearisomness appear about any but such as come off from the Sea, (which may not possibly have mistaken their Way,) or any Signs of a new Resurrection, their Plumage being smooth, and Bodies Plump; so that I my self have seen both Swallows, and Hobbies, build and tread upon their first appearance, as if they had no other business in this World than to lie in, and produce their Young; as Fishes are noted to change their Coast upon the like Errand, &c.

I believe it possible for Birds, not of the same Kind and Plume, to engender with Success to an huge embellishing of Nature, and as great an Improvement of her store. And this was by some Acquaintance of mine put under Experiment before these Wars, that had large Cages of Wyre, wherein were put together only Hens of some sorts, and Cocks of another. How it did answer

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Expectation I know not, yet am confident it might succeed, especially in reference to those nourished through a like Sustenance, since my self saw an Hawk owned the Plume and Shape between a Hobby and a Tassel-Gentle. Nor is it contrary to the Grain of Probability to endeavour a Breed betwixt Hares and Coneys, an Ordinary Cat and a Civet; the Head of which species is, by the resemblance of the muscles, no less than all signs and gestures of the Lyon, and between whom there remains less Difference in proportion than an *Irish* Grey-Hound compared with a Lap-Dog; Animals no less than Plants receiving notorious changes from the Climates out of which they were at first transported, proving for the most part largest towards the Sun. Nor is it doubted but a Dog-Fox and an Ordinary Bitch will generate, as I heard the last Marquis of *Hamilton's* Father verifie he saw in *Scotland*. Nor did those Huge and Strange-Headed Deer, sent for Presents to King *James*, fail to Cohabit with ours and have young. Now he that would observe the Affinity in the Food and Bigness of Beasts and Birds, and put none but them together, I doubt not but in the Absence of their own kind they might easily be drawn to joyn.

One Day ruminating upon Pride, and the Dismal Effects it draws upon Mankind, I had all the Postures and Evidences brought in against those Arraigned for this Diabolical Passion acted before me by a *Turkey-Cock*, who stood priding himself no less in the Sun and Prosperities of the Spring than *Nebuchadnezzar* did on the Battlements of his Palace; from whence I began to conclude it natural, and so not radically evil, no more than Anger or Love: Therefore under the Notion of an Enquiry into the Advantages God hath given us above others, a perfect Knowledge of our own good Parts is so far Remote from Pride, that it is rather a Spur to Vertue, and so only depraved not invented by the Devil, who with all his Chymistry is not able to convert the seeds of a Natural Effect into the Root of Evil, though he hath perverted this, as many things else, into Malignity against God; the least of whose Beauty is sufficient to advance our Thought above our selves, in which Case it is rather a Rapture, than a Sin.

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## *Characters & Letters, &c.*

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### *A Character of Honour.*

**H**ONOUR is one of the Grand Impostures of the Earth, through whose false Splendour unadvised Ambition is, as it were, trapan'd out of its Life, Liberty, &c. no Folly transcending their esteem themselves only happy in a vain Title, or Syllable, at the beginning pronounced by the Prince, and after reverberated by the meagre, empty, and hollow Eccho of the insignificant Rabble; no less ready, upon the Change of Fortune, to Murther than Father all Marks of Desert, to those very particular ones their own Indulgence had informed: Opinion being for the most part Printed in such Blind Ink, as it hardly remains legible to the Second Generation. The Merit of the first Proprietor becoming mortified by Oblivion, or quite dissipated, and lost in the Wilder Fields of a no less numerous, than vitious Posterity; so remote from improving any Talents left them by their Ancestors, as, like the improvident Usurer in the Gospel, they do not only expose them to Rust, and Cankers, but waste the Estate, with all other glorious Endowments in which they were wrapped.

The Promoter of their Family becoming by this means an Occasion of the Ruin of it, it lying in the Nature, no less than the Custom of Honour, to put as unreasonable an Excise on the Vices as the Vertues of its Owners. I never thought it Prudence, or Discretion, to articulate over-severely on the worst of Modes I have had  
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the good or ill Fortune to be born and bred under ; yet seems to cross the Grain of Wisdom, if not of candid Charity, to arraign as guilty of Absurdity, all we find in ordinary Practice abroad, though on the other side the Pale of Christianity ; and for a particular instance, that used amongst the *Turks*, where no Title but what belongs to the Emperor is made Hereditary. ‘ Honour ‘ being hardly managable within the Compass of Decency, ‘ by any are not perfect in the Steps that lead to it ; splendid Epithets, where there resides no real Ability in the Party to deserve them, cheating the Beholders by an Expectation of more Vertue, and the Possessor with less, than his Parasities (a Vermine Capital Fortunes are infested withall) may have possibly insinuated into his formerly suborned imagination. But to descend to a more exact Definition of Honour : It is a mere Ray or Beam darted from the Favour of a Prince, who in one Body contains the Abstract of all Delated Dignities ; and the Reward of every Desert is either real, or by him supposed, in the Nature or Actions of those he thinks fit to advance ; amongst which none are more Glorious than they in *Turky*, where Worth is always found the Antecedent to every Reward ; those in Christendom, that relate wholly to the Passions and Affections of the Donor, not appearing so Natural, but farther remote from the purer and unsophisticated Elements of Majesty, than what is found inherent in the Party ; the true Cause of advancement among us being commonly so trivial, and foul, as for shame they forbore to recite it in their Patent : From whence some may conclude, those Disparities amongst Men proceeded at first, like Hills and Dales, from the Deluge of Pride, so long a Succession of Government hath poured upon the Face of the Earth ; Courts by such Canting Terms advancing their particular Interest, which would be abated, were the Devourers in an equal Parallel with those they feed on : The Rabble, for want of a more elated Prudence, imagining their Governors to proceed, like the Giants of old

old, from some Diviner Extraction than their own; not wise enough to apprehend, That Honour hath no advantage really in it self, but what it is able to deduce from the lower Condition, and baseness of others; All Titles to those relating to God himself, as they were absent, before the Creation, so Reason informs us, they could not present now, were there no Creatures endued with so much understanding, as to be able to pronounce them, the most relucient Honour being Offuscated, and Blinded in the Shades of Solitude: Wherefore if it had a Name, it wanted an Owner, till something was made willing to promote it; no Age ever represented it more naked to the World than this we live in: Whereas the *Jews* do in *Italy*, by the Antient *Roman* Coins, so the Grave Visages of 25 Bishops have been struck off, and put upon many Thousand Presbyterians; whereupon the Image and Superscription of the Primitive Church is quite defaced, and obliterated, through the Impress they are exchanged for; which owns no worth, but from the Gravity of the first, being it self of the greater Antiquity than *John Calvin*, who did not but with some difficulty, as Boys do Gigs, whip this younger Government out of a Word, taught for many Ages to signifie the Episcopacy only, making it current in *Geneva*. Now if it be no less frequent in the Practice of Men than in the Dialect of the Scriptures, to rob God of his Honour why should any, but merely Mortal, place Stability in it; especially since the Trash these Earthly Tumours swell withall, is by the basest of, &c. render'd so pernicious.

### Valour and Cowardize.

**I** Should much wonder how Valour and Cowardize, both strangers, if not contrary to the Practice of undistracted Nature, could pass so long without the Errata in the Place-Book of Vertue and Vice; but that

I find it the Design of Policy to advance or abate the Credit of all things found useful or destructive to her own, or the General Utility; and, where she can bring in the least Colour for it to paint, what is necessary to Commerce, with the greatest Approbation of Religion; and to render the contrary in the dark Sense, and black Characters of Hell, allowing all Supports as decent, and quadrating with the Beauty of Holiness, though above or against the Lights of Reason, if found any way requisite to sustain Government. Of such force is Custom, that it is able, through the Assistance of Credulity, to stifle and trample upon the Senses themselves.

Now though it may be no Indiscretion in a Patient to suffer himself, for his Recovery, to be deluded by his Physician, yet out of a Panick Fear, or effeminate Nicety, to swallow more Drugs, and in greater Quantities than is unavoidably necessary, may appear a Madness, arising from the more dreadful than dangerous Phantasms mustered up by the Fumes of a formerly-suborned Melancholy, rather than the substantial Dictates of an unsophisticated Judgment, which a Wise man may retain, and feast himself with, though for Manners sake, and to avoid the Danger no less than Shame, impending Singularity, he may seem to own the most universal Opinion.

Now to shew how Policy, no less than Religion, imposeth upon frail Humanity, in both the formentioned particulars, (though to the apprehension of Sense, absolutely repugnant one to the other) they are situated as near Damnation, that appear over-daring in the prosecution of private Revenge, as such who out of Remissness and Fear betray the Cause of their Country; in defence of which is placed, under all Professions extant, the Highest step of our Duty to God and our Neighbour. Which cannot be denied to stand farther remote in Nature, than what really Concerns ourselves, found recorded in *Job* by the Devil, a far Antien-



tienter Philosopher than the so much venerated *Aristotle*; from whence we may conclude, “ *That Resolution and Dread instituted by Nature at first for the vindication and safety of every respective individual, are, since Tyranny and Propriety have forced us into Commonalties, reduced by common Consent of Law, and Conveniency, into a publick stock, for the Preservation of all; so as we are suffered to own no more in reference to our selves, than Prudence is able to filch out of the Treasury of the State, and that upon no slighter a Penalty, than Law doth inflict; which found too dimlighted to penetrate farther than external Evidence can reach Religion, whose Results (and those no weak ones) lies in Conscience, supplies the place of a Diviner Guard; brandishing, like the Angel in Paradise, the flaming sword of Hell, which operates more or less upon the Affections proportional to the Tincture received from Education; not seldom Proof (as we find in Hereticks) against the Dictates of Reason herself, nothing being harder to be lost, or convinced of Falshood, than Opinions sucked in with the Nurse’s Milk. And this may raise an Use of Caution, in relation to what we call Pusillanimity, and Valour, which in a natural and primitive sense, signifie only Evasion, and where that will not serve in order to our own Preservation, a vigorous and stout Resistance to the loss of Life it self, as is manifest in every Creature, in the absence of hope; and therefore impossible to be found wanting in the pure and unsuborned Nature of Man; and so in the primitive Construction uncapable of any foreigner Interpretation, than what is deducible from our Judgment, without reference to Fame or Reward, Terms unintelligible, during the Original Felicity, and before the Thirst after Generation had swelled the World into such an Ocean of Inhabitants, as could not be kept within the compass of Moderation, but by Mounds and Banks; in the making of which all things are employed that own the power to terrifie or flatter*  
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the Rabble into Obedience, without bearing any nicer respect, to single Individuals, than through evading, or over-ruling the Law, Power, or Prudence, is able to purchase to themselves, by mastering, flattering or contemning publick Fame; after which it may be, sometimes less policy to run, than not to be too greedy to give it welcome when it courts us, Opinion being a Bird oftener caught by Chance than Endeavour; nor shall any one that carries her on his Fist ever want envy, or scratching, by others: And he that hath but the Patience to attend good or bad report to the end of the race, shall observe them like Cocks to change their Odds, one unlucky blow being able to depress more, and draw a greater concourse of Abettours to the other side, than Twenty as strong and probable Endeavours, without Success, can possibly advance; or, if this fail, the Gamesters, together with what they strove for, will by the hand of Time be laid in Oblivion: Whereas the real Wounds, and sensible Inconveniences, accruing from a too serious Attention, and exact observance of the various Cadences of the Trumpet of Fame, subject to be put out of Tune by the change of every Blast, do not only exceed the Cure of the Chirurgion, but all endeavours to that of Wisdom it self: Nor hath Policy any cheaper trash to load the opposite Scale withal than Honour and Titles, which, like Horse-Bells, only affect the Ear, as Diamonds do the Eyes, encreasing rather than lessening the Burthen of Life; which, with its Concomitants, Envy, Danger, and Jealousie, signifies nothing, proportionable at least, to what the Purchase requires, seldom enjoy'd of the Owner long without Controversie, unless by dying in possession he cuts off all contrary Claims: Wherefore such as have the Dexterity to pass their days at the least Expence of Trouble and Conveniency, may be truly said to husband Discretion best; nor are they likely to be mis-led in such a vast number of Fools and Madmen as are daily observ'd

to sacrifice their own Ease and content to promote the Ambition and small Plots of others, grounding their Hopes upon those that have no Assurance themselves. But this runs so contrary to the grain of Practice, as it may not unpossilby set such Teeth on Edge as are able, through Detraction, or Power, to blast the Author of this Advice.

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*A Letter writ to dissuade Mr.——from a Duel.*

Sir,

**I** Shall at this time conceal what I apprehend of your Quarrel, and the Circumstances that did at first produce it ; lest I should fall into a Physician's indiscretion, who coming to one labouring of a Fever, did consume the time in telling the Patient, the Causes of his Distemper were Drink and evil Company ; which, though possibly true, could not but carry the Figure of a meagre Impertinency, before the party had his Cure, since no place is now left for prevention : And as Physick is opposed to the Defects incident to bad Dyet, and Disorder, so Counsel hath been observed to moderate and palliate, though not cure, those of Indiscretion, arising for the most part from an Inexperience in the exact knowledge of our own fame, no less than that of others : And where it may be, or is situated, with the smallest prejudice to Conscience, or giving the least interruption to the Prospect of Self-preservation, the first Result in the Intention of Nature, and left as of greatest Intendment to the Care of Prudence. From whence I have been taught, that it is possible for Physick to be welcome, though distasteful ; but that Counsel seldom meets any more favourable Construction than Scorn from the Receiver, and an Opinion of Presumption in him that ventures to give it, especially if



if it meets not with a candid Nature; which hoping to find in You, I shall so much transgress the voice of Discretion, as to suffer my self in Love to become an Arbitrator between the Honour and prudence of a Friend, so far as to maintain, That such as animate you to a formal Revenge, do, out of forgetfulness, or Want of Religion, forbear to calculate the Danger, no less than Impiety, that for ever cleaves to such hands as are found once polluted in blood; and that those violate the Dictates of Piety, and Discretion, (by Wisdom esteemed the most considerable part of Manhood) that contradict it; for, to use their own canting, (no where to be found in the Dialect of Antiquity) he hath given you an Affront, and such an one as may not decently be passed by without a Formal satisfaction; which is but the single and wild Opinion of some Under-graduates in the Arts of Living; yet admit it a Debt due in the Court of Honour, may it not as well be discharged by your friend or servant, as your self, Parties less agitated by Interest and Passion, and therefore the likelier to deal a Revenge so evenly, as he shall have as little cause to brag as you to repent? A thing you can never promise your self, if contrary to the Injunctions of God and the Examples of the most prudent People, you proportion out your Satisfaction in the Field, where you cannot but deliver into the custody of blind Fortune not only your Life but Estate, as justly belonging to posterity, as ever your Ancestours made it yours, which by this mad Knight-Errantry you hazard to undo. I am sure all wise minds will quadrate with this; and if the Fools of the present Age, pretend to any Discoveries of Ways to Honour, new and untrod by the Ancients, let 'em follow them to the farthest Extent of their Lives or Lunacy, Whilst you hearken to the graver Advice of reason, which may inform you. He hath offer'd an Abuse already, and will you hazard upon equal Terms the receiving a greater? Indeed if a Requital had been endeavoured at the Instant, it might have rendred you more excu-

fable before God and Man ; but that opportunity omitted, it were more wrong to your Charity, than Vindication of Valour in cold Blood to call back Revenge ; as if a worse Christian upon Meditation, than when irritated by Fury and Passion. Neither is Honour to be purchased in single and self-persuading Combats, because no Marks of them appear in Antiquity, where many are found Dead, but not one, to my remembrance, upon so impertinent a Quarrel as Words : Yet we may conclude from the foul Expressions in Oratours, That the Mouths of the Gentry were then none of the cleanest : He that consults former Histories may find, That some have gained more repute from a Retreat, than thers could obtain by a won Field ; and what is a Retreat I pray you, but a fine Word for Running away ? Fierceness being proper to Beasts, whereas a neat Evasion belongs peculiarly to Men. Of which I shall instance this, as now fresh in my Memory : A Gentleman lying, like you, under the repute of an Injury, did meet his Enemy, and shot him with a Pistol stopped full of Dung, whereupon he cryed *He was Slain*, which set him farther back in the Opinion of the World, than his former Vapouring had advanced him, when the Excrement the Dagg was laden with appeared to the Senses of the standers by : And for this the Wit of its Devisor was highly commended. Another return'd this Answer, with a like Success, to a younger Brother's Challenge : That if he could prove his loss as great as His, should he kill or be killed, he would gladly accept it ; otherwise he did not think it reason to venture his Life against one did want Necessaries, and so might seek Death, no less out of Discontent than Gallantry, which himself, that wanted nothing, had no cause to do. All that remains is but your Pardon for this Boldness, which I most seriously desire, remaining in the mean time, no less your faithful Friend, and,

Sir,

Yours, &amp;c.

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*A Letter to Mr. ——— in hope to dissuade Him from going  
a Colonel under Count Mansfield.*

Sir,

I Cannot but own it for a high Presumption, to offer sudden and crude Conceptions in a business where I presume you have employed, not only your own, but the most serious Advice of your Friends ; to the Abilities and Dignity of whom, though I am forced to give place, I may not justly be accounted behind them in affection to your self, or affairs : Wherefore having received so great an encouragement from your Commands, no less than Stimulation from my particular Desire to serve you, I shall, according to my small Experience, and the meaner Abilities I have found in me, employ it to the best Labour, to inform you. These corrupt Times have rendred many things necessary to the *German Wars*, are no ways suitable to your Complexion, or Fortune, which your General, being a Stranger, cannot in probability advance, without offending his own, and Sinning against an Article of Policy and Nature ; nor shall you, though Laden with the highest Merit, render your Return more grateful to your natural Prince, King *James* having always numbered Soldiers amongst those he esteems the worst of Men, and most formidable to his Person, the Expedition being by Him rather connived at, than approved, out of Hope by this means to facilitate the two Treaties of a Match with *Spain*, and the Restitution of the Palatinate ; which obtained, (according to the Mode of *Pusillanimous* Princes,) all endeavours will be used to discharge the State of You and Your Companions, as a Society most superfluous during Peace ; the only Thing our King doth study to promote ; to whose Ears a Drum is more terrible than Thunder, and the Report of a Cannon, than the Voice of God himself, which (if our Churchmen may be credited) doth at



this Day cry for Vengeance against the Cruelty Exercised upon Christians, especially from *England*, by an unanimous Consent chosen the Head of the *Protestant* League, till His Majesty had Forfeited that Honour to the brisker Assistance given by the *French*. Now can you think he should indulge Valour as a Vertue in another, when nothing is more manifest, than that he labours to expunge all Marks or Occasions for it in himself, or any about Him, so far as to answer my L—— when he came from the Wars, and desired to kiss his Hand, That he feared he would bite it, and therefore bad he should be muffled; Nor is it our King's mode alone, (that never made use of Soldiers unless to Slight them,) but that of *Spain*, under whom the most deserving have dyed in Disgrace, if not by Poison; and amongst the Catalogue of those stand written with great Characters in the Calender of Fame, few or none are Registred for Saints, or happy; it being past Controversy, That no War can be called Just bears not a real Tincture of Defensative, and whosoever hath, or shall have enterprized the contrary, though his Name be never so richly enamelled on the Ring of Fortune, and Himself placed at the Top of her Wheel, yet he is but the Scourge of God, and doth for the most part fall when he thinks himself most capable of standing, like *Charles* the 5th. that was by the Duke of *Saxony* (a Family of his own raising) beaten over the Alps by Torch-light, and himself, like the Sword of *Goliath*, wound up into a High Contempt of this World, and laid in a Monastery. The Sins and Over-sights of God's Children are severely punished; but it is as true, that nothing costs dearer than the Blood of his Saints, as may appear by such Horse-Leeches, as have been applied to his Church; from whence a double quantity hath been drawn by some unexpected means: But if these Reasons favour too much of *Theology*, consider how impossible it is to do any thing without the Love of the Common Soldier abroad, and how unsafe he must needs be at home that enjoys it; there being  
nothin

nothing more usual with Princes than to be jealous of their Liberatours ; manifest in *Byron*, who after he had set the Crown upon *Henry* the IVth's Head, lost his own, out of a no more Pious reason than that upon a contrary provocation he might have removed it to another. And to shew of what vile esteem Soldiers are in the days of Peace, I will not say (though I have heard it) that the Judges, after the *Irish* Wars, were given it in Charge, yet can assure you they hanged Soldiers for faults which others (thought of more use in Peace) did scape, or obtained Pardon for. If so unhappy as to receive a Wound in your Person or Credit, it remains your's without the least diminution, if Honour, Custom shares it between your Country and he that Commands in chief; who, being a Foreigner, is not unlikely to rob you of your due; or, by employing you on desperate service, to conclude Fame and your Life together. I know your Resolution is too well lined by Philosophy against the Storms of Danger, to admit a parley with any Force but that of Reason, wherefore I forbear to paint them, lest I should seem to scare you with fears are for many Years left to be terrible to my self, who have long since thought it ridiculous, to Court sleep by Opiums, and protract Death by Cordials; which is but the Head of the same Species, being the effect of an unavoidable Lassitude; yet though Life is imposed upon Mortals without, if not against their Consent, it cannot be denied the strongest result of the highest Wisdom, to situate your self so, as it may consume at the most ease and with the least Perturbation, which is not to be expected from such a Flaring and intemperate a Course, as that of a Soldier that can make choice of no Friend, or Enemy, but what the State assigns him; or proportion his Pity, or Justice, to his own Morality, but their Ambition and Jealousie that Command in chief, to whom in all things you are bound to obey, though contrary to the grain of Prudence it self; that arbitrary Government you so much complain of at Home, being the best you can in reason

expect to find in an Army abroad, where the stress of Discipline lies more upon the Administration of Severity than Justice. Such as are reported to list themselves under the Black Prince of Darkness, draw Articles before they consign their Blood, and have a Circle enchanted, with a Power to protect them; whereas a Soldier hath nothing to plead for against actual Obedience, but the narrow Circumference of Protection, that lies in the will of a General, to whom the Vertue and Valour of his Officers is no less formidable, in relation to his particular Jealousies, than the Vices and Cowardice of his meaner Soldiers are thought pernicious to Success in the Field: Wherefore no Prince deserves such Honourable Attendance, as those that head their Armies themselves, *Generalissimo's*, like Step-Fathers, carrying to others Natural Affection, but for the Advancement of their own Glory; so as they esteem all inferior Merit as an Intrusion upon Theirs; it being ordinary with Custom to award Fame to such as have least deserved it, and asperse with Infamy those of more Glorious Merit. I confess Necessity cannot only abate the Edge of these Reasons, but turn their points against the Urger; yet since it is not impossible but that the Elector may have miscarried in his Allegiance towards the Emperor, it cannot be indiscreet, or impertinent, to mind you of the Hazard and small Reward they commonly are capable of, that render themselves Arbitrators of a Foreign difference; I do comply with you in all the Pity, Prayers, and Contributions, can be offered for the Restitution of the Vertuous Lady *Elizabeth*, yet shall reserve my Person to bestow upon the Preservation of my Country, in the quarrel of which, I can only justify the spilling of my own Blood, or that of others; the universal employment of a Soldier not being yet legally made out to me by any Injunction, either Moral, or Divine; the Practice of the *Switzers* in relation to foreign Quarrels appearing as remote from Christian Charity, as

Na-



Natural Prudence. It cannot be denied but that Soldiers are necessary during the distracted times of Invasion, so it is as true, that few Callings are looked upon with more Disdain, when a Nation enjoys an absolute Tranquility : Wherefore it can be no Act of Discretion, to enroll your self under a Profession only in esteem during the worser Ages, and not the best ; wherein maims are considered rather as marks of an inconsiderate and brutish Valour, than a temperate and advised Prudence. Were you thrown upon it by the Iron Horns of an unavoidable Compulsion, or flattered into it out of a more than probable Assurance of an Honourable Advantage, something might be objected to the Prayers of your Friends, and contrary Desires of your Enemies, who may not unpossibly tempt you into this uncertain Hope, out of a Design to rob you of all you really enjoy,

Consider your Education, how much a Stranger it hath been to the incommodious Treatment the Field doth afford, out of whose Verge it is more decent, and safe, still to preserve your self, than at any time to retire, though upon the highest Provocation, of whose legitimacy your Enemies, from whom you part, will be the Arbitrators, and not your Friends, to whom you return ; War being a turbulent and destructive Calling, with more Credit and Safety always neglected, than at any time forsaken ; he that never fought receiving a fairer Encomium from Charity, than a Captain that hath deserted his Post : Nor doth a Colonel stand for more than a single Wheel in the Frame of an Army, where the General remains Heir to all Desert.  
—The rest is lost.

## A Letter to Mr. W. P.

**T**He continuance of your Acquaintance is the highest Pinnical of my Ambition, and from whence I am not only tempted, but do willingly submit to the lowest of your Commands; in the pursuance of which I came on purpose, to meet you at *B*— laden with the strongest Advice so weak a Judgment is able to Man out; but I find your own Wisdom hath given me the opportunity to spare my *English*, by discovering to you, without the help of a Prospective, or the dearer prejudice of a Tryal, what I found verified thro' many years Experience, viz. That Honourable Persons, like too great Fires, may warm and comfort such as are content only to serve them at a Distance, but blast the Parts, and consume the Fortunes of those are found to attend them in any nearer Relations, who gain, for the most part like the Birds that follow the Crocodile, no Richer Reward than the Reversions of their Teeth; it being usual with these Monsters in Nature, to esteem none capable of Desert, but such as Fortune, or Baseness, hath made necessary to their Vices, or Power; the first of which is as much below the Breeding, as the other is the Candour of a Gentleman, to whom it is incongruous to leave the Honour he was born to at the foot of that Ladder he hopes to ascend by to a greater; neither have they that are instrumental to their Rapine a more noble employment than those Beasts reported of in the *Indies*, who hunt the prey for the Lion, and after by his Strength they are subdued, must rest satisfied with what the Covetousness of their Master shall leave undevoured.

For my self, as none can with Affection look upon the Gulph which hath swallowed up his Felicity, so I remain in so high a feud with Greatness, as if I did not find [*Lord*] in my Daily Prayers, I should not name it (in  
Relation

Relation to Servant) without Detestation; the which Lord had I served as I ought, the other would have been no more known to me than Leopards, Wolves, and Tygers, seldom, if ever, seen by us, but in Grates and Pictures: Yet how manifest soever this Truth is, I am not so foolish my self, or think others so wise, as to esteem any Precept, or Example strong enough to restrain the unsupported Ignorance of young men from falling into this Trap, baited with more Ease, though far less Assurance, than Law, Physick, &c. For this course often neglected, in which Hundreds perish for one that thrives, who is yet found to be more impetuous than the Master himself, since the powerful Word of God assisted by the Rhetorick of Divines, is not of Efficacy sufficient to keep them from following Pride, Lust and Drunkenness, though Hell be assigned for the Conclusion; But if you desire a more full, and elegant prosecution of this Theme, I refer you to *Lucian*; having already exceeded my first intention, which was only to Kiss your Hands, and in fewer words to assure you that I am,

Sir, *Your Servant.*

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*Another to the Same.*

Sir,

**H**Ad you not assur'd me you were not well, I should easily have guessed it my self, from the Commendation your Letter gave to mine; which cannot but be rather the effect of a Fever, than your Judgment: To which though I am so highly obliged for the present, as to gain a more honourable esteem in your fancy, than without the like mediation I could possibly have attained, yet I do not only abhor this, but all Advantages else, that own the least semblance of a Prejudice to you; so as I could not have been thus Roman-



mantick, but that the last Line prov'd a Cordial to the first, by expunging all fear of future Danger, in respect of your health. And for Prudence, I find it by the Elegancy of your style, and the solidity of matter, so far rather encreased, than diminished, as I am confident your opinion is by this time alter'd in reference to my Desert, though I am willing to flatter myself, that your Love continues: But whether the Horse follows the Chariot, or the Chariot the Horse, Persons of Parts are found to make so great a Descent, which submit themselves to this course of Servitude, that they waken the Admiration of Lookers-on much more than the apprehensions of those that, like me, have so apparently suffered in their particular Interests; it being impossible to imagine a greater Lunacy, than to cast away Time, Freedom, and Fortune, after such as so little regard it, that they esteem it Reward sufficient for the most of their Servants, if they have an opportunity to observe the Baseness of their Natures; for what is gotten by them belongs rather to their own Impudence, or Importunity, than the Bounty or Goodness of their Masters; since he that remains Defective in one of these two Court-vertues, shall be compell'd to make a third of pure Necessity. Let a Man consume an Apprenticeship with a Citizen, at the end of the Time it is his own fault if he be not able to live; but when a Tradesman (like one of his Majesty's antick Statues) is taken out of a base Cellar, or Vault, (no Prodigy in our days,) and set up at Court, it is his least care to provide for his Servants, unless necessary to his Vices, or the Infirmities that proceed from them; such being able to tide him where they please; either over their Fellows, or Strangers, by way of Terrour, or Disdain; or, curvet and prance with his Complements, in token of Respect, they resembling for the most part Oranges, that yield nothing but upon squeezing. I confess, the Dependence on a Monster of this kind may be of excel-

cellent use for Protection in these Fatal Times, where Innocency is found too weak for Deceit, could it be obtain'd without a greater Loss; but, as in a Contract with the Devil, the first thing parted with is Hope of future felicity; so a Secretary must quit his Freedom, or Employment, being tyed to so strict an Attendance, as his Lord is no more able to spare him than his own Brains, or Thumbs; by which the slavery becomes so great, as it can receive no Compensation from Profit: Wherefore such as are wisest retain only the Acquaintance of Great men, whom I have observed to thrive better than their Menial Servants; it being usual with them to bestow benefits on those that least deserve; and to him they have injured by denying a just Reward, it is their mode to become an Enemy, as I have found most certainly true, who am,

Sir,  
Your Servant.

## POST-SCRIPT.

**I** Have sent you this to serve as a Black patch, or Foil, to set out the Beauty of your *Virgil*; and therein you may observe the strength of Affection, which for your sake is able to raise in me the Enthusiasms of a Poet; from whose Inspiration this Oracle is pronounced:

**T**His Work is finish'd so, as no Supply,  
Can be expected from Posterity;  
Nor could thy Author's Laurel match thy Bays,  
Hadst thou appear'd with him in Cæsar's days:  
Yet he that this Translation dares to slight,  
Must not admire to see a Moor wash'd white,  
And charg'd to English Beauty; losing none  
Of what was Hers, but adding of his own.

If

*If that our Northern Paint be not so good,  
 'Tis not thy Fault, whose Pencil understood  
 No less than any Roman's; and this shall  
 Struggle for Fame with the Original;  
 And waste more Blood and Ink, than in the strife  
 Between those States who first gave Homer Life,  
 Which will be Justice; for he did undoe  
 By writting them what Wit entail'd thee to.  
 Like to an Elder-Brother that is curst  
 In all things else, yet priz'd for coming First:*

*But to conclude the wishes of my Heart,  
 Oh that my Praise could equal thy Desert!*

*A Letter perswading——to marry.*

**T**HOUGH your Contexture makes me confident, you will not hazard the Dancing Coranto's with Apes in Hell, yet it is none of the least Modern Miracles why you stay so long unmarried, as if you had an Antidote to repell Age, and were proof against the Weapons of Time, or had a Receipt to recover his locks, worn off by such as neglect to lay hold on the present occasion; which you would never do, had you seriously consider'd the present Condition of your Mother, (whose youth is said, so blasphemous is Tradition, rather to have exceeded than come short of your present Beauty,) how a few years hath changed Alabaster into Wainscot, and ruffled her Neck like a walking Buskin; so that such as would once have crossed Seas, but for an apparition of her, cannot but now think it ominous to meet her fasting. If you resolve upon none till you pattern the Character your Fancy presented me, (when I had last the Honour to kiss your hands, and heard the Scorn wherewith you received the Offer of—I must be bold to tell you, I took it rather as a

copy



copy of your Countenance, than any thought could take its Original from the Discretion I ever own'd you Lady of,) you may as well expect a New Creation, since so much perfection as your Language did then paint, is not to be found out of a Romance, or the short Entertainment during a Lover's Passion; which once thoroughly cured by fruition, is not found rarely to recoil into as great a contrary Extreme. I confess wise, constant and complete Servants may be had, but few such Husbands, whose minds are no less altered by Marriage than drunken Men are by Sleep; but become, like them, weary and sick, of what they formerly took delight in; upon the apprehension, that he which yokes himself to a Woman, forfeits his Prudence no less than she doth hazard her Repute, who encircles a man in her Arms before enchanted by the Priest, through custom and shame made far more necessary to you than Men: Wherefore finding that Time is uncessantly nibbling at youth, and Beauty the bait of your Trap, and that it is unlikely with no stronger Engines to catch one that is Wise, be nimble, and lay hold on this that is Rich; who is confess'd none of the seven wise Masters, and therefore with more ease to be governed, the felicities of Marriage perishing in the conflict arising between Man and Wife of equal Spirits and Understanding, it being impossible there should want Contests, where both lay claim to a capacity fit only to be obeyed; which, if you have him, will by all be conceded on your side: So that instead of being a Ward, (a Tenure every married Woman holds from the award of her Maker,) you shall be Guardian of the Person and Estate of your Husband. Now in relation to other things, upon the score of which you may reckon stronger felicities, they will be found, after enjoyment, to vanish into Cyphers, Learning becoming as unfociable for Ladies, or half-witted men are wilful and jealous; Rocks that the softness of his Head gives sufficient caution for; so that  
under

under this Conjunction you may, without interruption, follow what Inclinations you please: Wherefore if you resolve to Marry, no Husband is more proper, whose folly you may exchange for Wisdom when you please; and to renounce it quite, were besides burying your Talent in the Ground, and robbing of the World, which you ought to leave as rich as you found it, you should fall into the condition of an old Man, than which nothing is more despicable; who is acceptable in no Company; not daring to come amongst Women, for fear of declaring more Knowledge than she can with reference to Honesty own; or approach Men out of the Danger of Contempt: The Moral of *Andromeda* is a History of your present Condition, where the barren Rock she was tied to is Virginity; the Monster that came to Devout her, Time; and he reported to deliver her, some witty Spark, that persuaded her to take a Rich——&c. to her Husband, might warrant the Access of one more acceptable. Oh, let him have this Honour, Fair Lady, who is,

Madam,

Your Servant:

### On a Looking-Glass.

**D**ear Glass, tell me by what Art  
Thou bear'st her Image without breaking;  
When the same does crack my Heart,  
Just as I'm now a speaking.

On another which she said did flatter.

**B**lame not your Glass that doth her Duty.  
Nor can it flatter so much Beauty;  
But for the rest, in Policy  
It shews them Fairer than they be:

Since

Since if they saw their Faces true,  
This would be broke, and envy'd you.

Another.

**D**EAR Glass, joyn with her Eyes, and both concur  
To Note more worth in Me, and less in Her.

A Song.

**T**HE Graces are by Custom bound,  
Once in an Age, all to be found  
In one Creature ; there to shew.  
All the Beauties they do owe ;  
And now having fix'd on Thee,  
Be not Proud, since you may see  
Time allows them not to stay,  
But to meet, and go away :  
Yet though whil'st these Guests be here,  
You do rate their Lodging dear ;  
If you suffer me to take it,  
I'll not break when they forsake it,  
The terms of Fair and Good do not express  
Thy Worth, no more than theirs call Princes fine,  
When deck'd in Diamonds, like the Stars they shine :  
Nay, I'll maintain their folly to be less,  
Since such a sight hath oft before been seen :  
Whil'st he that would inform a shape like thine,  
Prometheus-like, must filch from things Divine.

On a Picture.

**T**Hough this be drawn exactly forth,  
It doth no more retain her Worth,  
Than the Shadow of a Rose  
Can the Scent of one that grows.



Another,

**B**etween this and her Mind there is that odds,  
As is in Man's frail-workmanship and God's.

*A Letter to two Sisters, the one Black, the other Fair.*

*Ladies,*

**I**T is Design, and I hope no Presumption, in me, to joyn you in one, that, besides the opportunity of presenting the highest of my Respects, I might comprize in a single Letter the total Sum of all the perfection extant in Woman-kind; Black and White being the unquestioned Original of that infinite Variety of Beauty, (the mint of Nature,) thro' which is maintained her necessary Commerce of Generation: And in this equal Distribution, Fortune hath shewn no small Ingenuity (who is more Wanton, and Inexorable, than Blind or Careless) in assigning that of least Duration, the fewest Years; for if you did not wither alike, Art and Opinion (the Limners and Carvers of all Excellency) would have tempted, if not constrained every one to serve and adore that Sister only whose Beauty had survived: By which sweet Variety had been lost, and Perfection reduced into one Monarchy, which now march in your Two glorious Regiments: To both which I remain an equal Captive, being,

*Ladies, &c.*

**B**eauty is writ in several Characters;  
None but are skill'd in some: Who finds out All?  
Which votes them mad, do say that this Man errs,  
Because his Choice is Black, or Low, or Tall;  
Nature would have all pleas'd, and such as fall

On

*On Ordinary Features, are less learn'd:  
The Indian Beauties are as plain discern'd  
By those do know their Figure, as the VWhite;  
Nor can Expression render it so right,*

*As may force others to approve the Text,  
Reason with Taste and Love should not be vex't.*

---

*A Letter to——after the Death of his Lady.*

*Sir,*

**I** Know, I need not mind you, That all sublunary things are transitory, dancing like the Atoms (the ancient Philosophers imagined the World not only to be made of, but stuffed withall) between one Condition, and another, Life seeming to be lent to keep Death in employment, and Generation to serve only for the production of Bodies; that the fatal Sisters might not weave in vain, or want Creatures to vail with their Garments of Mortality: But it is time to give over, at least to turn down a Leaf, and refer the Inculcation of this Morality till some fitter time, for fear of falling into their Indiscretion, are found to wake a sick Friend by an Impertinent Inquisition after his Condition, or the unseasonable Administration of a Direction which way to dispose of his Body; since none can calculate his Ease better than the Patient, "Sorrow it self not being destitute of its Voluptuousness. Which hoping you will not too far exceed, give me leave to conclude, That Manners exacted this, and Discretion, no more but to assure

*I am, &c.*

## AN EPITAPH.

**S**Tone, so long as thou dost last,  
 Let the Reader know thou hast  
 The Dross of Her, once own'd a Mind  
 Contain'd the worth of Woman-kind.  
 But no more ; Who speaks her Glory,  
 Must have for every Dust a Story.

## The Author's EPITAPH upon Himself.

**I** Envy not such Graves as take up room,  
 Merely with Jet and Porphyry, since a Tomb  
 Adds no Desert : Wisdom, thou thing divine !  
 Convert my humble Soul into thy Shrine.

*And then this Body, though it want a Stone,  
 Shall dignifie all places where 'tis thrown.*

---

*A Letter to dissuade——from Marrying a Rich, but  
 ugly and deformed, &c.*

**W**Hen I heard at the first you went a Wooing  
 to——I thought it a Trick put upon you by  
 Enemies, but finding it seconded, and seeing the fear-  
 ful Examples of those, who, out of Discontent, and a  
 Desire to change their present Condition, are found to  
 cast away themselves, I begin to take your Danger to  
 Heart, and do here in the Sincerity of Affection offer  
 my Hand to stay the Tying of that Knot with which  
 you go about to Strangle your future Felicity ; for  
 though I confess the Party may not unpossibly be very  
 Rich, yet it is as likely the things required to dead the  
 Apprehension of such a loathsome Companion, will  
 prove so chargeable, as in a short time her Gold will  
 be spent, and nothing left but the foul Beast that  
 brought it. Yet



Yet suppose you find so much as may bear the Expence of Mad Company, Whores, and Drink, (Wicked Cordials, though generally used to correct such Poison,) Can you divest Humanity so far, as to make her Partner in a Bed is able to render you so much an Enemy to Womankind, as to exchange it for Sodomy, if not Bestiality it self? For though you may not be punished by Law, the Act will be severely condemned, and esteem'd Brutish by all the Rational part of the World; it not lying in the Gender, or Kind, but Form, to render a Creature Monstrous and Abominable to the Nature of Commerce.—I am so charitable (yet in confidence of others Vertue, rather than her own) as to believe she is a Virgin in reference to Man, who in that Action might with more Justice be punished for a Desflowerer of Himself than Her: Wherefore you will have no more reason to brag of this Privilege, than He that first descended into Hell; of whose Superlative Uglinefs (though her Body be so composed, as the Devil need not alter the best of her Features to make her resemble the foulest of his Fiends; yet) it may be numbred amongst the Questions least capable of Decision, Whether That or Her Mind, be most Crooked; And to cover this, (yet none of the worst of her Imperfections,) she is supported, like Tyranny, by Steel; from whence her Breath is become so noysome, as no venomous thing can live in her Presence, nor any Person sick of the Mother miscarry. Now what effects her Embraces will work upon your self, may be guess'd by Grooms;—who, in a small time, come to out-stink the very Beasts they are conversant with—And what is said is so far from Hyperbolicall, as it resembles Truth more than she does a Woman: Yet all this is but a slender Security, to warrant Posterity upon, should such a Monster confute Philosophy, in producing her Like: For if Money be so prevalent, as to make you sell your Liberty, why may it not hire another to become so much

a Slave as to do your Drudgery, who cannot be upon serious thoughts thus Singular, as to prefer the absolute Possession of a Dungboat before the having a Partner in a Tall Ship? But if so fond of Wealth, as to break through these Considerations, teach her to cover her Face, and not salute your Friends; or, if she must be Kifs'd, (the strongest Complement was ever used,) let her disrobe her——not possible to be more noysome than her Mouth. If Prose be not Tart enough to wean you from so Childish a Resolution, for the fear of Poetry desist, which may make you the Subject of a Comedy: And guess, by these Verses of a Friend, what Enemies may say.

**C***an you but think the ancient Blindness Great,  
When Men make Gods of that which we make Meat?  
Or wonder those by Nile could offer Fat  
And goodly Oxen to an ugly Cat?  
Yet you (no less advised) to a Witch  
Will sell your Fate, in hope for to be Rich:  
Who, like the Idols in a Pagan Feast,  
Carries a Monky's Face upon her Breast,  
Shadow'd with Shoulders, under which doth stay  
A Bonnet crouching, like a Hill at Sea.  
Nor may her Bosom fail of a Device,  
To hatch an Egg into a Cockatrice;  
Or turn Men Atheists, who believe no Elves  
Can now be found, but what we make our selves.  
Were She in India, where they serve the Devil,  
Not out of Hope of Good, but Fear of Evil,  
They would adore Her, lest her Sun-like Nose  
Should burn, and smoke Tobacco as it grows:  
Or, lest the Venome of her loathsome Breath  
Might blow some foul Contagion o'er the Earth:  
Or, that the Spaniards, by her malice taught,  
Might learn more Cruelty, than e'er they thought:  
Yet amongst all the People worst misled,  
None ever took a Friend into his Bed:*

Which

*Which proves that Nature doth abhor your Deed,  
In offering to a Dæmon Humane Seed :  
And what will be your Issue, joyn'd with her,  
None can resolve you but a Conjuror ;  
For while she is in Labour you may hear  
The Good-Wives shriek, and some Physician swear  
It is a Child ; And that he finds in writ  
Such Births, before the Priest dare Christen it.*

*Now if this cannot Move you, may your Task  
Be to beget a complete Anti-mask.*

*A Letter in Reference to a Coy Lady.*

**T**HOUGH I confess the Lady you recommended may prove a Pleasure to others are at leisure wholly to intend making Love, (no Hare being better provided of Muces and Shifts to put off Followers than she,) yet, so dull a Soul as mine, in the Apprehension of the Difference between one individual Beauty and another, is still ready, with the Mayor of *London*, to lose all the Pleasure of Hunting, in the insignificant (though perhaps to others ears pleasant) Cry of the Hounds; catching of Larks, and Sparrows, less chargeable and troublesome, being more acceptable and grateful to some Complexions than Hawking at the *Heron*; the latter being too full of Splendour, Noise, Delays, and impertinent Complements for a Person, that, like me, is not born with the Patience to run after a flying Beauty, or spend time in beating for that another will find to my hand, for a smaller sum than may compensate the tearing my Repute, or burthening my Conscience with vain and fallacious Oaths and Covenants, in the Administration of which she is as punctual as the *Calydonian* Commissioners: Yet I cannot deny, but that she is richly worth the purchase of any that own the Knack of such Amorous Zealots, as have the Pati-



ence to continue still whining, where they know, thro' the Consciousness of their own Unworthiness, that they are not likely to be heard, making a sincere profession of Love and Respect, when their chiefest Intent is only to plunder what I fear this Lady is to seek of already, or else foully bely'd; none keeping their Avenues more strictly barred, than such as have been robbed already in this kind: Wherefore having cast up by my self the whole Value of the Adventure, I find it no more than I can truck for nearer home, and with greater ease and conveniency to my self.

Yet, before I break out into an Open Rebellion against so Sovereign and absolute a Beauty, I will present her with this inclosed Petition; to which if she gives not a satisfactory and full Answer, I am resolved to break off all farther Address, and to proclaim her a Tyrant, and her Subjects absolved from their Oaths and Obedience; so as for the future it may be lawful for them to enrol themselves under the red and white Colours of any other Mistress they esteem more Debonaire.

### The Petition.

**I** Pray dispatch my Suit, or else deny it;  
 For if I spend more Time I dearly buy it.  
 If you distrust my Truth, I do protest  
 By that which binds Men most, I love you best.  
 — It is not out of Fear that I should tell;  
 You never heard me brag when I did well,  
 Or is't engage me more that you delay it?  
 None better knows the Grant, nor how to pay it.  
 Is it the Sin you fear, which none can Guess?  
 Cutting off Oaths, and Time, you make it less.  
 Nay, 'tis no Fault, in you to lessen Mine,  
 Better once drunk, than still to thirst for Wine.  
 — Hath Nature made a Blot below your Zone?  
 My Love would cover it, and count it none

Have

*Have you a Servant that you think is true?  
I have a Mistress too, and yet love you.*

*If you can add to these Objections more,  
Pay me for what is past, and i'll give o'er.*

---

*A Character on a Debauched Soldier.*

**H**E Carries no Sign of Reputation but in his Mouth, and that he suffers to run over with tedious Stories of his own Valour; to justify which he hath wished his Damnation so often, as it is now sure; rendring him incapable of any other Peace of Conscience, but what he finds in Drink, or the operation of no Diviner Spirit, than that incites to Lust and Revenge; his Religion being so far of his own making, as he imagines God, like his old Host, best pleased by the largest Reckonings. With his Tongue he desires Wars, but is in Heart at peace with all but his Maker. He had rather be thought behind-hand for Money than Word; and will sooner satisfy an Enemy than a Friend, being readier to requite what he receives in Anger than Love, Injuries than Good turns; rendring himself a Slave to Martial and Arbitrary Justice for a small Salary, under the improbable pretence of freeing others. Nor dares this Gladiatour, that rants so high in Taverns, and on the Ale-bench, oppose any thing but Patience to the highest Affront a superiour Officer is pleased to put upon him: Though no Papist, he abhors the Church; and, like some of our Reformists, carries no more marks of a Protestant, than what are legible in Perjury, &c. yet brags more of his Whoring and Drinking, than any Catholick doth of his Good Works; who is thus far happy, that though he wants Faith to make him a True Saint, he owns not so much Hypocrisie, as to appear so; and therefore more capable of Repentance than

than those that Plunder and Murther others, under a secret pretence of honouring that God he only profanes. He brags much of his Scars, which truly Examined, prove rather the Effects of Intemperance, than Marks of Valour; his Face bearing the hideous Impress of Pots and Glasses received not in the Field of *Mars*, but the easier entered Sconces of *Bacchus*. Whose Discourse, though it travel'd still betwixt one besieged place, or Leaguer, to another, yet it was always tedious, and if you altered the Subject, his understanding appeared proof against all Sense. After whom followed this Epitaph.

*At the Saracen's Head Tom pour'd in Ale and Wine,  
Until his Face did represent the Sign.*

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*To Dr. Ch. Chaplain to W. E. of Pem.*

SIR,

**W**Hilst it pleased you to communicate with me, in a Style suitable to the frailty of my understanding, I took infinite content in the Converse; but since you have clothed your Letters in the Thundering and Glorious Ornaments of Learning, I am not able to cope with you; wherefore let me implore your favour so far as to lay these Advantages by, and not render your love terrible to me, who did never question your Power, but own you in the highest sublimity the World hath (being prompted by so much desert) advanced you to, and on such Terms I may enjoy your Acquaintance; whereas otherwise I shall be forced to take Sanctuary in a perpetual silence, lest I should lose that little Reason I have, in seeking to comprehend the infiniteness of yours. And to avoid any mis-information of the Quarrel at — between my Lo — and the E. of C — it was really thus; the K — having, though against his will, prevailed with my L. to go into the West, by reason of his Interest in those parts, with



with the other Councillors of State, in hope to facilitate the Payment of the five subsidies voted; but not given, by Parliament, and now Christened a Royal *Lone*; the Commissioners being by the Fire, a dispute arose between the two former Lords, whether it was possible for one had never been upon the place, to speak and understand *French* perfectly: The L. of— who you know never set foot out of *England*, maintained the Affirmative with so much eagerness, that the other, who had not only more Reason on his side, but the approbation of the Company, said my L.— best Argument was noise; a speech, my L. replied, was undecent for an E. of Compliments; and upon this the other returned the lye: To which my L. made such a manual Answer, as the L. C. being pent up in his cloths, fell down, whereupon they were parted, and reconciled; shame, and the Title of His Majesty's gravest Privy Councillors, facilitating the Composition. It is already arrived at the *Spanish* Ambassador's, who, according to his facetious Mode, put it upon the score of our *English* Valour, which the gravest relations cannot make them to forget. I am still haunted for Verses from our *French* Curriot, who is resolved to Print his Book in *English*: Those I made are these,

What dost thou mean, my Friend, in this bad time  
To write of Vertue, when 'tis thought a Crime  
Not to be Vicious? such a Book would sell,  
Could prove all Damn'd did offer to do well:  
Or find that Pimping is a lawful Trade,  
Because that Sarah brought her Lord a Maid:  
Or vindicate what Origen hath cast,  
That Court and Hell shall meet in Heaven at last;  
Or prove that Incest is a venial Sin,  
Because that Lot defil'd his nearest Kin.  
O couldst thou maintain this, then thou shouldst be  
Rais'd to high place for thy Divinity.

Then

*Then lose no time, let Goodness take her chance,  
Whilst you comply with Sin and Ignorance.*

---

*On a COOK.*

**A** Cook is a Bawd to the Mouth, that kills his own Stomach to quicken his Masters ; who lives, like a Bear, by licking his Fingers : Before a Feast, he in his white Sleeves and Apron resembles the Ephod of a Priest, and seems to be preparing rather a Sacrifice than a Supper, in which the Grand Sallet may justly be thought to personate an Idol : His Office is a representation of Hell, where all sorts of Creatures are Tormented in Flames, to satisfy the depraved and various nature of the Tastes of men, whose Pleasures, and highest Contentments, are no other ways to be compleated, but at the prejudice of their Fellow-Animals, over which Reason, not Strength, hath purchased them the Sovereignty, so much abused in this World, as may render the worst of punishments just in the next. His profession something quadrates with Heraldry, varying no less in Sawces than they do in Colours, Bends, Fesses, and Metals, and are as much puzzled about Marshalling the Dishes, and calculating the precedency at the Table of a Wood-Cock, or Wigeon, a Gull, or Gosling, as the other are in placing Lords and Ladies ; but this, and all the rest of his Learning and Industry, concludes as I do, in an excrement, which I wish in his ——— &c. And so leave him to Blaspheme in the Kitchen, or cooling his Tongue in the Cellar.

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*A Character of an Host.*

**A**N Host is one who thrives with drinking, and grows Rich by Entertainments. He is of vast acquaintance, but can number few Friends, besides those resulting

resulting from Travel, or Necessity : His Conversation is alike to all Men, that he may gain the more Money, being equally Hospitable to every Religion he can save by ; giving his Guest the best Content o'er Night, out of hope to please himself in the Morning. The Government of his House is Tyrannical, all Taxes being arbitrary at the Will of his Wife, who sits Regent in the Kitchen ; yet every one that enters, takes his Chamber, for the time he stays, as his own, with no less assurance than *Don Quixot* did the whole Mansion for an enchanted Castle. He ventures that Reason he hath in all Companies, and in Defiance of any Drink the weary Traveller pleaseth to call for, which if said to be mingled, or adulterate, he calls the Name of God, and the person of the Drawer to attest the contrary. The Sign is the Scheme by which you may take the Ascendent of his Understanding, and his Half peck the Measure of his Conscience, of which the Hostler is Chancellor, and keeps the Key ; making no more of cheating a Stranger's Horse, than his Mistress doth in over-reaching both. If her Husband be grown into his perfect Symetry, his Belly bears the exact proportion of the biggest Jugg, and his Face of that in the first Edition of Fryar Bacon's Works : He suits his Discourse, as Fiddlers do their Song to the Ears of the Hearers, chusing rather to offend Truth than his Company : And in case any ride double, he proclaims them Man and Wife, as far more willing to foment Bawdery, than foul two pair of Sheets. He is seldom far out of the way, though Drunk, or Hang'd : The first being as near the Road of his Profession, as the latter is that of his Desert.

*Youth, Wit, and Beauty, like a painted Sign.  
May stay a Stranger, but 'tis Sprightly Wine,  
And decent Welcome, makes him light and dine :  
For who will pass his time in such a place,  
Where nought appears of moment, but a Face ?*

*Deductions*



*Deductions from the History of the Earl of Essex,  
who was executed for Treason, under the Reign of  
Queen Elizabeth; with a modest Answer to Sir  
Henry Wotton.*

**T**HE Love of a People, may be observed of no less dangerous a consequence for a Subject to trust to, than their Hatred proves to such Princes as are so unwary as to neglect it; for after that Sir Robert Cecil had prevailed so far upon his own Brother, the Earl of *Exeter* (most else refusing the employment, out of Love or Fear,) as to proclaim *Essex* a Traitor, he appeared deserted by all, but some few unfortunate Gentlemen, whose lives, out of Gratitude, or Want, depended wholly on his.

Nor is the Affection of a Prince less permanent, than their Anger deadly; and in the first of these the Queen was unconstant, in the latter inexorable: wherefore if during so long a reign no great quantity of blood was spilt, it rather resulted from her Subjects Innocency, than any propensity to forgiveness, inherent in her Nature; nothing coming so hardly from her as a Pardon, I mean of such faults as concerned her self: And in this she shewed a rare prudence, in becoming able to raise a profitable use out of a natural defect, for (born of that Sex, allowed by all as the weakest in Judgment) she lay more obnoxious to a Censure of insufficiency, than that of Tyranny, the sternness of whose looks hath in all ages scared away contempt, the inseparable Companion of a cheap and effeminate Nature.

So as neither *Leicester*, *Hatton*, nor any other Minion, could ever extract so much favour from her, as  
might

might serve their Lands, or Heirs, from refunding what their Fathers had mis-spent ; her favours keeping no servant company, beyond the land of the living, the most apparent reason why the Lady *Elizabeth Hatton* cast her self into the contaminated arms of Attorney *Cook*. Nor could her disposition to severity be in any thing more manifest, than the extraordinary means used but to defer the execution of the *E. of Southampton*. who had, besides pity, the Enemies of *Essex* to plead for him ; yet she continued inflexible towards mercy, till the same hand that led her into the temptation, did, like the Devil's, shew her the glory she was fallen from already in her Subjects opinion, by quenching his and their enemies malice with the blood of their Darling : Nor was this hard-extracted Mercy suitable to the emergency of the present occasion, for, (as I have been often told) not only those that did in the peoples opinion contribute to the murder (as many called it) of the Earl, but the *Queen* her self was exposed to some publick affronts, the spectators she passed through in every Town (especially in *London*) becoming far thinner and muter than formerly they were.

Some Princes love not that Child in order to succeed them, but all abominate a stranger lies under that notion ; the cause that she, contrary to the well-being of the Subject, no less than the privilege of Parliament, committed *Pigot* and *Wentworth* for moving to know the Man, and beheaded *Essex* but for making a small demonstration of offering himself, though the later *Roman* Tyrants took that little security they did enjoy from a quite contrary course ; but this was at a time when the blood Royal lay extinct, and the possession of the Crown fell to his share had the *Keenest* Sword and strongest Head-piece : In which case the most probable way to secure the Prince, was the declaring his Successour, who to preserve his own dignity, was likely to take revenge on any that should  
assassinate

assassinate him in the Throne before, a thing very ordinary in those depraved times; not so in *England*, where, during her Reign, there were no less than fourteen titles, good and bad, which by her Silence were all kept quiet; for till she made a publick declaration, none had a just cause to complain, and in case any endeavoured to have succeeded by force, she had a fair choice out of the rest to make opposition, none being free from some considerable defect or other, the Parliament remaining wholly at her devotion, and no ill-willers to *Essex*; the Commons being as fearful of the Regiment of a Stranger, as the Peerage were jealous of the house of *Hartford*, or any else deducible out of their own Body. Fortune appearing then in all particulars so strong on *Essex* side, as she seemed rather unable, than unwilling to bear out the charge of his folly, who put her upon such impertinent errands, as the Dutch youth do fools on the second of *April*; thro' which she became so far tired, as she was forced at last to return him a Block and a Hatchet. This unconstant Deity being in the number of such giddy auxiliaries, as none can be sure what side she will take, and therefore not to be trusted by a wise man; the most steady if not signal events, having been brought about without any other mediation of hers, but what is impossible to be avoided; in which sense she is rather capable of the title of Providence than Luck, Fortune resembling a Cane, which no wise man, but in an unavoidable necessity, will hazard the weight of his whole rest upon: Wherefore the Earl of *Essex*, if he had not been befated with a strong Opinion of success in all his actions, (though built on the weakest foundation,) would never have referred his life and future well-being to the sole arbitration of Chance, and the unconstant guidance of a Woman's Affection; which being only skin-deep, could not but in a Court furnish a person of far less magnitude than a Sovereign Power with choice enough; especially after his enemies,



Enemies, for their own security, had so far Indulged his, as to furnish him with an Army paid by the Q. and chosen by himself. Nor were the greatest Families then in Rebellion in *Ireland*, (rendred by the most probable reports) less obedient to him than his respective Officers : And if these advantages had been too little to have set the Crown upon his Head, after the decease of his Mistress, he might have had any Men or Money from the most Catholick King, who would have advanced his Designs, or any natural *English* Subject's else, that had but opposed the *Scottish* Succession. Which was formerly projected by *Leicester*, and the only visible occasion he managed the *English* Force in the *Netherlands* with so little care, and worse Success, who immediately began to prosper upon his remove. But *Essex* had Religion and Fidelity inherent in his Nature, Humours known so incompatible with Ambition, as it was no less unsafe for him to court a Crown, than it did after prove incongruous and mis-becoming, for his more frigid Son to make Love, and importune Ladies. Nor is this a Conjecture of my own, but what I have often heard averred by the Friends of Sir *Charles Danvers*, whose youngest Sister Married my eldest Brother; and that the Honesty of *Essex* (never denied to exceed his Discretion) might for the present moderate his Ambition, but how he would have behaved himself in the Company of an absolute Power, may be safer now disputed by us, than at that time experimented by the Queen, Success in those that wear it expunging, like *Aqua Fortis*, all former marks of Allegiance or Probity; for though his first thoughts might be of no larger extent than to remove *Cecil*, and others declared Enemies, under the Notion of Evil Councillors, that poured into her Ears such tales as were disadvantageous to the true Religion, and Policy of the State; yet that point gained, he could not from a lower station than a Throne have satisfied so many, wiser Men than himself, whose clearer insight into the advantages he was

then in Possession of, had tempted to be adventurers with him: So as all the favour could have accrued to his Mistress from a more happy Success than befell the Earl, exceeded not the Complement of continuing her in his Lap, (a place not likely to sute long with her Age, or his occasions.) Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign having been too reserved, quietly to have endured from an Administrator (she remaining yet in being) so profuse an expence of Honour and Riches, as was expedient to be thrown to such a needy party, as had already embarked themselves in his service whose fidelity and strength (the Nurslings of *hope, reward, and preferment,*) was requisite to maintain him on the Stage: For though possibly, his desires might terminate in a removal of his Enemies, they had no honester design than to raise themselves, without much reference had to the means. From whence it is easie to contemplate the prodigious Disparities in Rebellion; which though begun upon never so just, moderate, or Religious pretences, necessity, Ambition, and humane frailty will interject so many new and unexpected pretences, and events, as it rarely concludes without the ruine of it self, or the Common-wealth; which once suffered to grow intemperate and run over, it doth like a Pot consume its own fat, and loseth its former Strength and Glory, by raising the dross and dregs of her Subjects upermost.

One cause of his presumption was the fond Opinion he had, that she would not rob her Eyes of the great delight she took in his Person; a Fantastical over-weaning of himself, and Womens Affection, to whom no single Man's perfections were ever yet found continually grateful.

Now such as wonder how she durst bring him to the Scaffold, for fear of her own Honour, are not thoroughly studied in the boldness of Princes (whose faces are continually steeled with the Varnish of a Gross Flattery, put upon their worst Actions) no more than the compunctions of Dying Men, who desire *rather to clear themselves* towards

towards God, and the World, than impertinently to accuse others : Besides, a hope of Pardon, not to be cut off but with his Head, was a sufficient Reason to restrain him from breaking out into any intemperate ranting against his Prince, as *Biron* of *France* did not long after most imprudently fall into, in reference to his King, *Henry* the Fourth, dying, in the opinion of the generality, rather like a Mad man than a Christian : Yet had *Essex* unladen his Bosom of all it did contain, it might possibly not have swelled to so great a bulk, as did then appear in the Opinion of the most, or that it may after be blown up to by flatulent Posterity, (seldom endued with so even a fortune, as to have truth and falsehood weighed to it in an equal Balance,) manifest in a number of Relations extant at home and abroad ; the Blood she inherited, no less than her Father's humour, having procured her no good Opinion from the Church, according to whose Dialect the generality did heretofore, out of Ignorance, or reverence, tune their belief.

Had he been true to his first Principles, molded by some more dexterous heads than his own, which was to Spin out his time, together with the *Irish* War, till a certain report of the Queens sickness, or Death, had come to him, from such an unquestioned number of his own Confidants, as were able to have assured belief, it might in reason have presented him with his wish, or at worst so much Power as would have made him arbitratour of the next Succession ; but haste, proceeding from a natural Impatience to live out of *England*, and the contrary advice received from some near about him, (suborned to destroy him,) rendred all addle, by persuading his return without an Army, upon a false report raised of her Majesties Death, the time assigned wherein to shew himself. And to this end the Wars in *Ireland* were prolonged, with no weaker endeavours than *Mountjoy* used after to conclude them, owner of no other project, but the reducing of that Province unto obedience, *Essex* presuming so far upon the Peoples af-



fections, that he thought the sound of his coming able to raise an Army wherever he came.

*Essex*, if he had been Master of parts strong enough to have mounted him into the Saddle of Sovereignty, might have found by the beating of the Parliament, (a true pulse of the Nation,) That there was no probability to raise any advantageous distemper for him during the life of the Queen, the People apprehending little other cause of discontent, but what might arise from the thought, that their present felicity depended only on the continuance of an old Lady, after whom they expected more dismal Days than their Love could ever have imagined from the Government of *Essex*.

Wherefore to lay the Scene of any thing carried but the Vizard of a Rebellion in *London*, (at that time abounding with Riches and Felicity,) was an act favouring of so great Imprudence, as I wonder his Enemies should bring him to it, or his Friends suffer him to prosecute; as I have often told some, at that time near about him, who made me no other answer, but that he Perished between his own Presumption, and others Infidelity. His security might have been more, and loss less, had he gone into *Wales*, when he passed through *London*, where he had great Love both by Inheritance from his Father (a good Landlord) and his own purchase, always of a liberal Nature; Nor did he fail to wear a *Leek* on *St. David's* day, but besides, would upon all occasions vindicate the *Welch* Inhabitants, and own them for his Countreymen, as *Q. Elizabeth* usually was wont upon the first of *March*. And by this the Earl grew so Popular amongst these People (especially such as had little to lose,) that without all question, so many would have appeared in his favour, as might have procured him audience from her Majesty, and not improbably the removal of his Enemies, under that notion hated by the generality, no less than those linked to him, under a more strict Friendship. Or if this had

had been too hard a task, their Strength and Means was not likely to want power to land him again in *Ireland*, from whence he had been drawn by his own folly, and the Wisdom of his Maligners; where not only the *English*, but the Natives (to those in actual Rebellion) were his reported Servants; the Catholicks, till they were better Cajoled by the *Scotish* Kings Confidents, not obstructing his Designs. And how secure he would have been in that Province, may be guessed by *Tyrone*, the Capital Rebel, who notwithstanding more impartial endeavours than the Lord Lieutenant *Essex* had used, did obtain his Pardon, in a manner maugre the *English* Forces.

*Essex* was too honest to have removed every Impediment lying in the way to Sovereignty, nothing but Death being able to gag a Person Robb'd of a Crown: Yet her Successor met with no opposition, though bred in an Air ever Pestiferous to this Nation; which wisely consider'd, might have tempted a People to have disputed his entrance, till caution given; but the Riches and Felicities enjoyed, during the incomparable Reign of Queen *Eliz.* hung yet like Holy days at their Fingers ends, by which they were become so effeminate, and unadvised, as to chuse rather to fall into an incurable Consumption, than hazard a little the shaking by a few fits of a Fever; which if chosen, might not unlikely have proved as wholesome Phisick for King *James* as *England*, who wanting a legal pretext, had nothing left him in safety strong enough to rehell the Brazen-faced Impudence of his Countrymen's Importunity. But the last Scene of Princes, like the Catastrophe of a Play, is so huddled up, and every one so intent upon his own particular Interest, (being muffled by hope or fear,) as that is left merely to the disposition of Fortune, which ought only to be intrusted with Prudence herself: Nor did the readiness of the *Scots* to Arm (in hope of so much Plunder as this Nation might afford, shrouded under the Spetious pretences of *Henry* the VIIth's

eldest Daughter) portend less in the ears of the unresolved, than a possibility of Conquest, the most ungrateful sound to the formerly free People of *England*. Neither did these conjectures receive small aggravation from those formerly suborned to promote the entrance of the *Stuarts*, who, if *Effex* had remained true to his Principles, might have been saluted on the borders by an Army strong enough to have moderated the *Scots* conditions, or advanced his own; though it was the universal Opinion, that *Effex's* Ambition did, like the great Earl of *Warwick's*, terminate in a desire to bring in *James* on his own score.

It is not probable the Earl carried any evil meaning towards the Common-wealth, because neither his enemies, nor friends, are found to mention any endeavour in him to call in a Foreigner: Wherefore if the Crown was his Mistress, he used the decent way of wooing her, which was only through the Mediation of her native Subjects; yet I doubt whether he had justly calculated the weight of this Circumstance, That *Conscience is dangerous in an Usurper, as cruelty and excess is deadly and undecent in him doth legally succeed.*

I have heard it, though looked upon by me as a Paradox, that *Effex* would have vindicated the English freedom, by reviving such ancient Privileges as had been pretermitted during the tyrannical Reigns of the two last *Henry's*, and no ways indulged by Queen *Elizabeth*, which not extending all her time beyond a few particulars, was then less discernible, no act of hers being registred so contrary to the grain of her own people as the death of this man; the Queen of *Scots* being looked upon as a Catholick, which, in the general dialect of *England* at that time, signified no less than a sworn enemy to God and the Prince, (so zealous, if I may not say furious, are all changes,) that it was passed over without any apprehension of honour, or pity, as justified by the cruel Massacre committed not long before upon the *French Huguenots*, at the instigation



tion of that King's Mother, an Act through which the integrity of Princes was much abated: But whether his Nation, by reason of her divers titles, and disparity in estates, was capable of that absolute freedom hath since been fancied by some, I leave to the Arbitration of greater Politicians; only this I am confident of, that no fair capitulation could have disobliged K. James, who lay under too many doubts, and strong desires, to have refused so peaceable an entry as he found, upon any lawful limitations; manifest in the advice given to his Son, wherein are more Popular Rules than himself was ever observed to follow.

By the vast quantity of tears let fall from the Multitude upon his Grave may be noted, how far easier it is to find pity than protection, though his friends if united, would have proved the major part; who, for want of a good-head piece to follow this universal affection, like floating Atoms, made only a world of calamity for himself and his party; but this blow past recalling, set the People's teeth so much on edge, as all the Queen did after was thought bitter, and her Government too peevish and effeminate for so warlike a Nation: Nor did she decline less in the opinion of the Court it self, no counsel daring after to appear, but what was suitable to the *Cecilian gusto*.

Here may be noted, with what Circumspection Princes ought to play their Game, since Counsellours, their Card-holders, are not seldom Cheaters, and intend more particular Interests than their Masters; as appear in the remove of *Essex*, a man thought far more necessary to the Queen's Service, and *England's* safety, than such as purchased his ruin. The banding of two factions being the most probable way to keep this already superannuated Princess from falling into contempt; for such Commands, as under both parties would have been readily obeyed, were, after one had got the absolute dispose of affairs, wholly neglected.

*Essex's* return (which no question would have been

endeavoured upon the least discontent of Her Majesty) appearing of so dismal a consequence to his enemies as nothing might procure it was thought safe, or what did obstruct it dangerous. Nor was it possible for this Planet, so near its declension, to influence another Party, none daring to run the Hazard of an unavoidable future Ruin, upon the contemplation of a year or two's power; which was more than her age, and present weakness did in any probability promise.

This proves it had been the Queens better policy to have conceded the Life of the Earl to the tears and vows of the People, through which their Love had not only been preserved entire, but (what was next considerable) so great a restraint put upon the contrary Cabal, as might contain them within the compass of Obedience, out of fear she should have let loose this Lyon, who to that end she might have kept in the Tower, his death not being probable, as her Subjects stood affected, to have countervailed the advantage of his Life. And this oversight was the more inexcusable, because the Ancestors of the Earl's chiefest enemies had by the same Arts rendred her ungrateful to the People of *England*, in a like case of severity towards the Duke of *Norfolk*.

Nor did she apprehend, till it was too late, the wound given her own Power, through the mediation of the Hangman, in the death of *Essex*; not being able ever after to moderate the Insolency of those that now did not stick to slight her, and story openly in her ears the necessity she lay under, to declare the *Scotch* King her Successour, lest the Parl. should be (for their own safety) compelled to do it themselves; which had not been omitted, but (as I have been told) to endear King *James* more to some particular families, of which the most noble for birth found afterwards little cause to applaud their Design. Neither were other reports wanting, which being usual at the Death of all Princes, I shall here wilfully omit, as quite unsatisfied-

tisfied of their truth : Nor had I said this, but that there hath been from the beginning of the uncivil Wars (wherein none were masters of what they had) diverse imperfect Copies of my own hand left in the custody of one did Print some of them, under a nameless Author, though very false ; and might have done this, if not timely prevented.

Nor did this blow terminate only in the ruin of the *Earl's* Friends, but extended to the disadvantage of his Maligners themselves, apparent in *Sr. Walter Raleigh*, who wanting strength, though not wit, to be the Treasurer's Corridor, perished, because not thought to own humility enough to be his Servant : it being more safe at Court to have many Enemies of equal power, than one false ambitious friend, that hath attained to the absoluteness of Command. The agitations and tempests arising from considerable factions in the houses of Princes (resembling some winds at sea, by which men are driven (though by contrary means) to one and the same end) would of necessity have miscarried, or perished, had any single Party prevailed ; the one still thinking it honourable to preserve and advance what the other esteems safe to suppress and destroy. And this *Raleigh* was often heard to say he did not apprehend, before his Genius had dictated it to him, as he came in a Boat from the execution of the *Earl of Essex*, which was done at the Tower ; nor could the wisest of his endeavours free him from the dire effects of this portent, or, to name it more properly, a necessary cause of such events, as did after befall him.

The Death of *Essex*, like a Melancholy cloud, did shade the prospect of her People's affection, from being so discernible at the shutting of her Days, as it was during the Dawning and Meridian of her Reign ; yet if *Essex* had been try'd by a Peerage of Angels, they would have passed a like Sentence upon him, or exposed Monarchy to contempt : Wherefore Prudence cannot lay the fault at the door of her Justice but the  
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ill management of her Mercy, as not knowing how to employ it, toward the best advantage of her future affairs. But after an impartial Reflection made, in reference to private persons, averſeneſs towards any apprehenſion of defect, we may poſſibly learn to wonder why ſhe made no better proviſion againſt contempt, till that hour a mere ſtranger to this Princeſs, who had all her ſails continually fill'd with flattery or ſucceſs.

Now to vindicate Her Majeſty from the obvious aſperſion I have ſo often heard her Prudence upbraided withal, (for neglecting the *Italian* mode quite, in the removal of *Mary* the Scotch Queen, and Dowager of *France*, ſo much the more undecent, as the hand of a Hangman is leſs honourable than that of a Phyſician;) I may ſay, That ſince thoſe, who, for their own ſakes as well as their Sovereign's, thought it not ſafe to be left undone, wanted the ſkill or ſpirit to do it a clandenſtine way, it was more diſcretion than folly to reſuſe ejection one ſo uncouth her ſelf; ſuch a leſſon being eaſier learned than forgotten, and might have been afterward practiſed to her Perſonal diſadvantage.

And if reports on all hands were not miſtaken, little thanks is due to thoſe who made the Nation acceſſary, through this ſolemn Tryal to the Death of his Mother they meant next to ſet up: Nor can an undoubted deſire in the *Scots* to have her removed, the better to facilitate the Succeſſion of their King (who did more indulge his Patience than Honour, in paſſing unrevenged thoſe houſes, ſprinkled by her blood) juſtify their diſcretions, that could not but know all Obligation was more likely to be loſt in the ſhame, than found in any grateful acknowledgment of ſuch actions as theſe. And if their Poſteriy taſte of the like Juſtice, they may ſacrifice repentance to ſuch nets, as themſelves ſpread to enſnare this Queen firſt, and then *Effex*; the fault of the laſt being in reference to the

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Innocent driving on the design, as far below such severity, as the Majesty of the other was above it.

Nothing commends the goodness of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign more, than that she and her Subjects should have one and the same Minion, as happened in *Essex*; whereas the hatred of the people, proved after an undoubted consequence of her Successour's Love, remaining no less confident of the choice of the one, than diffident of the others, the Queen wanting no medium to interpose between her and their fury; from whence grew a confidence, that she would not countenance an unworthy Man: Neither was it a small advancement to this general compliance, that the people appeared not at the cost to raise him; it being the custom of this thrifty Princess to let her Favourites taste, not surfeit on the wealth of the Nation, conveying her Largesses by Spoons, not Buckets: The names of Monopolies, and extrajudicial Taxes, not being intelligible to experience all her days; neither were her ears stopped against her people's complaint ever thought by her just, and so fit to receive a present redress; the cause her Parliaments were no farther inquisitive than she was pleased to inform them.

Had her Successour retained the like Moderation, the power of our Representative had never fallen under the malleation of so existeneve a dispute, which hath raised Men's minds up to so impetuous a Billow, as it is questionable, whether that which supported her power, may not through a contrary application utterly ruin those may succeed; Queen *Elizabeth* being not only fortunate in her conduct at home, but able to diffuse peace and plenty over such Neighbour-Nations, as she was advised by true Reason of State to maintain in strength and good plight: Not suitable to the late practice of a Prince that first brake with *Spain*, then *France*, and after was hardly restrained from kindling a fire in the *Netherlands*, which lies in a manner in the bosome of *England*.

Now

Now I should conclude here, but that I find Sir *Henry Wootton* (late Provost of *Eaton*, and a long time before Ambassador with the most Illustrious State of *Venice*) hath published a Manuscript amongst his Friends, and may since be made more general, where he offers to compare the Duke of *Buckingham* with the Earl of *Essex*, much to the disadvantage of the latter; who, laying this action by, did never own the doing any thing so ungrateful, as might make him fear the anger, or beg the favour of a Parliament, much less owe his Life to the dissolution of one already called. He is not charged with many deeds of improbity, unless Women be cast upon his account, not in Justice to be done, the other standing by. The awe he bare to the Religion then professed was discernible by his death, which in the opinion of many reached something below the Garb of a Soldier; so busie are Criticks (that like Flies spare nothing favours of Fame or Infamy) to the Grave it self. That he was thought no instrument of Tyranny or Oppression, appears manifest in the Monument of Love, remains still undemolished in the hearts of most *English* Men; whereas the Duke retains the general tincture of, &c. Nor can his well known bounty to Friends and Servants expunge it, because drained from the People, or taken out of the publick Treasure, if not from the general Safety of the Nation: Whereas *Essex* obliged his Confidants out of his own Store, or by other so innocent ways, as the Subject had no just cause to be scandalized at it,

The *Earl's* natural parts were as good as the Duke's, his Learning and Birth higher, the one being of an honourable, the other at best but of a gentile extraction. Nor can so inconsiderate an action, that in charity rather deserves the title of a Riot, than of a Treason, come up to so great an ingratitude and indignity to the Nation as *Buckingham's* Proceedings at *Rochel*, calculated after the *French* account, the sum of which I

leave



leave for more voluminous Pens to cast up; only I shall assume the boldness to say, that the Duke shewed no less folly in accumulating so great a Hatred of the people, than *Essex* did in misapplying their Love. And if his shadows were left exact to posterity, he was not behind him in handsomness, the sole and primary cause of *Villers's* advancement; only in this *Essex* came short, in having a Mistress would be attentive to Reason from whence soever it came, whether thro' the Organs of Friendship or Malice; whereas the Duke's fortune depended on two Princes, that in reference to their own weakness, or his strength, remained deaf to all complaints else, but what were presented through his own mediation, or those of his Creatures, with which he was ever made first acquainted, under no slighter a penalty than his displeasure, so much more heavier than the King's, as his memory was better, and interest more.

Concerning their Deaths, I can attest the Duke's did occasion no less joy, than the other did sorrow, not matched by the saddest accident did happen in *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign, no not if her Death be cast in, though deplorable enough, as I have often been informed by those did approve the Sentence, but not the so sudden Execution of it; nor was the Hangman reported to be willingly hired to do it; whereas *Felton* seemed to be inspired by some *Dæmon*, if not the *Genius* of our Nation.

This had not been said, but in vindication of that I never found cause yet to question the Truth of, and to unwarp their judgments (if any such be) that may be drawn aside, by the goodness of Sir *Henry Wootton's* parts, in knowing mens Opinions, much contaminated by his too over-zealous celebration of this Man, as may be easily found in the Records of Parliament, to which I refer the Reader, together with what I have in this behalf written.

Some

*Some Advantages may be deducible from Court-Factions.*

**I**T may be thought, I hope, no less impertinent than what went before, if, according to my rambling Method, I shall drop some conjectures in reference to a benefit may redound to the Subject from Court-Factions: All which in conclusion will reach the Prince, who cannot be safe and happy, if his People live miserably; not likely to be avoided, where preferments depend wholly upon the mediation of a single and uncontrollable party; in which case the oppressed have no power for the present to appeal to; the cause our latter Parliaments have been pestered with clamours and complaints, seldom if ever heard of in the Golden days of *Q. Elizabeth*, and from whose Root sprung those Branches of Misery, by which the greatest felicity any Nation ever enjoyed is become over-shadowed, so that the detection of corruption in Officers, and the gratification of the malice of some, and Ambition of others, in their expulsions and Punishments, gave them at last the boldness to question the integrity of the Crown.

Divers Persons of equal Authority, tho' both Wicked, do in experience produce more justice, than a greater probity in a single Individual hath been (at least in these depraved Ages) heard to pronounce: For though Bribery cannot be denied a deflowerer of Equity, yet remaining more palpable in reference to detection, it may not happily be of so bad a consequence, as the effects of the more uneasily detected propensities, found to follow the inclinations of love fear or hope; as it is easily deduced from the practice usual in private Families, where a great advantage accrues to the first Delator, and prejudice to the party accused; it not lying in the  
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strength of Vertue, if in any agility of defence, to keep a person immaculate from the blurs of Calumny, for want of proof, or an indifferent Ear, which superlative Powers cannot be at leisure to afford: Nor is the advantage to be drawn from two equal Cabals, better discerned than by comparing the tempers of K. *James* his Parliaments with those holden under the Queen; for the first, being wholly led by a single and passionate affection to one *Minion*, lived to see never a tolerable Minister relating to the Crown, or any in Authority so resolute as not to prefer the Favourite's command before his Master's, as esteeming the frown of the last more deadly. Now the huge rate set upon places of Judicature, taught Judges to sell their Votes, and People to complain; who by devouring of instruments, came at last so well acquainted with their own Strength, as not to spare the principal and first cause; one concession ever crowding Room for a greater, if not a more unreasonable demand: Whereas such instruments of State as Q. *Elizabeth* made use of, being strained through the double and contrary interests of a divided Party, no Vertue was excluded, or Vice admitted, any way beneficial, or of prejudice to Prince or People; contrary to the custom of later Times, wherein the most probable designs were pinched, and miscarried, through the smalness of their parts were employed to keep them on foot; no more solid Reason appearing in the advancement of the most, but Money or Favour; as no question will be found instanced in a prodigious number of examples, when time shall have purchased impunity for the manifestation of truth, not so likely to have proved the result of a divided Court, where the Creatures of one were the Enemies of another no less powerful; and so they both became liable to accusation, or capable of defence. And from the sparkles of this clashing, not only Persons and actions, but the Q. Councils came to be refined from the Rust and Cankers that after grew through the corruption of Foreign Coin, no less current at Court all  
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my time than pieces of 22 Shillings, *Jacobus's* themselves. Now though Monarchy may (whether out of perfection or defect, I shall not here dispute) make use of this Recipe, it seems dangerous, if not mortal in reference to a freer Government, where the least siding is a step towards Tyranny; the weakest part being as apt to call, as a potent Neighbour may be to come and assist, upon so advantageous an errand. All disparities or contentions, but merely rational, and in reference to an universal welfare, tending to popularity and disunion; wherefore above all things to be avoided. Nor is any near dependance upon a foreign Prince, more mighty than themselves, compatible with Liberty, which renders lending of vast sums little less dangerous than borrowing. And thro' which the Catholick King may one day attain *Genoa*; it being natural to all Creditors to favour their designs that owe them Money, in hope of Payment; and so become Traitors to the generality, out of the desire of a particular reimbursement. Such folly lies in many Citizens, as they prefer destruction of gross, before the hazard of their private interests.

But when Power is monopolized in a single person, Faction can be no more spared than an eye, or an ear. Kings for the generality, out of ignorance in the World, if not for want of Wit, or too much Flattery, being unable to value what they give or receive, or whether they gratifie or depress Vertue or Vice, especially if they have no other information but what is deduced from a Minion, whose judgment is no less clouded through Pride, than his is by affection, and a supposition of worth and abilities not really present; such Servants owning contrary interests to their Masters, who by bearing the charges of those follies they daily commit, do not seldom prove Bankrupts themselves of all ought to be esteemed dear in Sovereignty.

Nor

Nor are those single Trustees of the Royal assent found by practice so impartial in the distribution of rewards and punishments, but that they diminish by the first no less their Prince's Love, than they augment in the latter the People's Hatred, which an even debate would so far moderate, as to give such satisfaction as might preserve the generality in Obedience, by nothing so soon Forfeited, as a continued Succession of cruel Punishments, and unjust censures. I remember after *Felton* had given the fatal blow to *George Duke of Buckingham*, one *Savil* a lusty Fellow, formerly Burnt in the Shoulder for a Rogue, (finding how acceptable the news was wherever it came,) gave out, he was the Man that did it; and that, though an honourable person's Brother, he wanted Money to convey him away; upon which he was apprehended, and though not worth a Groat, Fined a considerable Sum in the *Star-Chamber*; to which, the Wisdom, equity, and justice of that Court, added (because they wanted power to hang him) this Corporal Punishment, *viz.* That he should be whipped from the *Fleet*, where he lay Prisoner, to the Pillory in *Westminster Pallace Yard*, there to be for two hours nailed, and after to lose one Ear, have his Nose slit, and then to be branded in the forehead; all which, as long as the *Bowels of humanity would give me leave*, I looked upon: Nor was this more than half his Punishment, as much being to be done to him in *Cheap-side*; but that (as I heard) the King, more charitable than his Judges, did Pardon it; though his perpetual residence in *Bridewel* was not remitted, till for another thing (some thought unlikely to be done under such a restraint) he was hanged at *Tyburn*. I had not touched upon this, as relating to time, which none can remember without being agitated by envy or grief; but to acquaint Posterity with the Opinion of a Lord, looked upon as the wisest for counsel, (however he might have failed in reference to *Execution*) in his time, who at dinner that day with some of the Promoters of the fore-mentioned Sentence, said, that though he hoped it would never be executed, yet it grieved him a precedent of that high nature should remain upon record, no less to the dishonour of their Mercy, than the Justice of his Majesty, upon whose score it might not unpossibly one day lie heavy: Nor did it scape the notice of the next Parliament, as any may find can procure a sight of a Book written by Regal authority, wherein the Subject was prohibited so much as to name a Parliament, &c. But the conclusion of the fore-mentioned prudent Lord was to

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prove, that of all Punishments death was soonest forgotten, whereas Whipping and Pillory were always remembred : from whence Governours may observe, that the greatest cruelties exercised by Subjects have had their foundations laid in pity. Nor can this digression be thought impertinent by those shall consider that such exorbitant and unnatural repetitions of Punishments, were Strangers during the Domination of 2 equal Factions ; thro' the percussion of which, like Flint and Steel, all things came to light, which these Pleas might advance, or eclipse the glory of the Prince.

Nor should I prosecute this Epidemical mischief of Favourites, at this time common with *France* and *Spain*, but to answer such as plead for it; whom I have heard so impudent, as to alledge the example of our blessed Saviour ; and no less foolish in citing the Authority due to the Prudence of *Italy*, where no Pope lives without a Nephew ; forgetting the whole management of the Church was not left to *St. John*, nor the wise Conclave swayed by his Holiness Kindred, who being encircled on all sides with Enemies, and destitute by reason of his elective Honour of any Hereditary Friendship, cannot in reason provide better for his safety, against the dangers have for many Ages waited upon the Table and Cup of the Pope, than by raising a person to so high a dignity about him, as may transcend any preferments likely to be offered by an Enemy ; the cause he that is styled his Nephew values his preservation equally with his own. And he that shall yet seek farther satisfaction, may find it in the unhappy management of such Princes affairs as have suffered themselves to be engrossed by *Minions*, taken only upon the bare recommendations of their private Affections.

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*It is the condition of those in Power to be guided by Servants.*

They say of the *Whale* that she is steer'd in her course thro' the guidance of a far smaller Fish, and a lesser than that is reported to alter the Natural gale of a Ship, looked upon as wonders in the deep, though few things are more usual and Familiar upon Land. All our State-*Leviathans* being so far guided by their Servants, Wives, Mistresses, or Favourites that in a true sense there is no Monarchy, all things for the most part succeeding according to the persuasions of others, if not contrary to the will of the Prince ; a mischief not to be quite ob-

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viated, but at the peril of falling into obstinacy, (as great, if not a more prejudicial extreme) nor hath any King, under my experience, been able to drive on his Affairs without grating upon one of these excesses; so as a Nation, like that of *Egypt*, is not seldom governed by a Stranger, or a *Jew*; there being no such thing in an unlimited sense, as an absolute Government, or if possible to be found, it must be in that as improperly styled Free; Which proves there is no real Liberty or power totally Arbitrary in the nature of Things; for though the incomparable prudence of the State of *Venice*, hath compounded for most of the errors committed by the Senators of *Carthage*, and Queen *Elizabeth* shunned the greatest Rocks of Tyranny (though as free from compulsion, as ever any Prince stood,) yet the Jurisdiction of either was as remote from being purely or totally absolute, as the condition of their Subjects is incapable of the name of Freedom; they being both too estimable Jewels to be intrusted with passion single, and without any mediation from Counsel or Law. I confess the Grand Signior can strangle whom he pleases; but it is seldom done at his own suit, no more than any desert is gratified: I myself have known many, so far Strangers to what was convenient, as they would scarce concede or deny any thing out of the presence of their Secretary; and this proceeded not seldom from a distrust there was no cause for; manifest in the Earl of *Somerset*, who though himself owner of a competent sufficiency, was so enchanted with an opinion of Sir *Thomas Overbury's* parts, that he preferred him from a Servant to such an intimate friendship, as he could think nothing well educated for employment in his Office, that had not passed his Correction, nor Secret safe laid up, but in his Bosome; which swelled him to such a Monstrosity in Pride, that I have heard (not being myself then near the *English* Court) how he offered to rant at his Servants, and did once beat the Coachman, for putting his Commands under an inferiour expostulation to his Master's. And through this intolerable arrogance in him, and remissness in the Earl, the sparks first flew that kindled the ruin of them both, Friendship being no more able to maintain its Interest against a feminine Affection, than so great a Pride was to confine it self within the tedder of Moderation. The Minions of my time (an epidemical mischief over all the great Nations of Christendom where Monarchy sways) did, during that Fortune, so far transcend their Patrons felicity, as they could gratifie all the rest of their passions, (quite exempt from fear or danger,) being screened

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from both by the person of their Prince, whom in reason they ought to defend; it having been often averred in my experience, that all the Kings I have known were found to do more for their Favourites, than they could be tempted to have done for themselves; which may serve for a proof of this Assertion, "*That the greatest are not free, but led in triumph by the Affections of others, through the mediation of their own*"; by which means Women come to govern, and Children to dispose of Common-wealths. And thus the hand of Providence, though steady in it self, doth, out of a desire to appear various, (and so more beautiful,) not only remove the great Men, but the Pawns so occultly in this huge Chess-board of the World, as they seem to our giddy apprehensions, to be dandled in the Lap of a contingent success. Though good or bad luck are merely imaginary, like the Arctick and Antarctick Poles on which the World, as on the two ends of an Axle-tree, are feigned to depend. Wherefore the apparent reason why great Men are ruled by more obscure Fools, is want of judgment or sufficiency. The hidden Justice of God upon the Nation in general, or persons in particular, who are naturally unworthy through disobedience, or have rendred themselves so by a male-administration of Affairs, the cause their Power is shared with meaner People, first sought to in all suits incident to their Places: And this Custom hath brought into such credit amongst Men, as forgetting how much it savours of weakness, they labour to make it necessary in the Court of Heaven; as if God were more importuned, or less affected by our immediate Addresses than when we offered our Prayers through the intercession of the blessed Virgin, or some other Saint; consonant to a memorable answer to a Catholick, made by King James, "*That the Ruler of all things was not subject to dote like him.*"

Yet wise men govern in their own persons, as Joseph is said to rule Egypt; for had not his Servants used to afford more obedience than advice, so dishonest an action in outward appearance, could never have passed without expostulation, as the putting the Cup in Benjamin's Sack. To end this Discourse, nothing plausible ought to be referred to a Servant's dispatch, nor that which is less Popular done by a Master; since he that is used to rake in dirt must employ an Instrument, lest the filth should stick too apparently on his fingers. Thus Princes juggle by Confederacy, whilst meaner Men rule in their own Persons.

F I N I S.



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**COLLATION**

*Tip, 2 leaves, pp. 370\*377-564*

*\* Apparent error in pagination -*

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